MARONITE HISTORIANS OF MEDIÆVAL LEBANON

BY

KAMAL S. SALIBI

With a preface by

BERNARD LEWIS

John XXIII Ecumenical Center
Fordham University
Bronx, New York

BEIRUT
1959

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PREFACE

The historical literature of a nation or community is not only a source of information on the facts of its past. It is also—perhaps more especially—a mirror in which is reflected the changing self-image of that community—the ways in which, at different times, it has conceived the nature of its corporate identity, its relations with other societies, both past and contemporary, its place in the two fundamental visions of the human predicament—the historical and the philosophic.

At the very beginning of his endeavours the historian faces and answers—usually unconsciously—certain basic questions. What, for example, is the entity that defines his enquiry and delimits the scope of his work? Is he writing the history of a place—of a city, a province, a country, or a region; of an institution—a church or a state, a kingdom or an empire; or of a group of human beings? And if this last, are they defined by descent or by habitation, by language or by faith?

The vast historical literature in Arabic shows many answers to these questions, ranging from the ancient chronicles of prophets and kings to the modern histories, formed by new, Western concepts of identity and cohesion, of nations and fatherlands.

Special interest attaches to the traditional historiography of the Maronites, a community whose role in the intellectual and political evolution of the Middle East is out of all proportion to their numbers. In this monograph Dr. K. S. Salibi, with a rare combination of scholarship and insight, has examined the historical literature of the Maronites, both mediæval and modern,

and through it has been able to describe and explain the evolving attitudes of this community to their ancestors and their neighbours, to Rome, to Christendom, and to their ancient homeland. It will be of value not only to students of historiography and of the Maronites, but to all who are interested in the development of social and political ideas in the Middle East.

London, 1st June 1959.

Bernard Lewis

AUTHOR'S NOTE

These studies are the revised form of a Ph.D. thesis in Middle East history presented to the Faculty of Arts at the University of London in June 1953. The original title was *Studies on the traditional historiography of the Maronites on the period 1100-1516.*

The topic was suggested by Professor Bernard Lewis, who also supervised my work at the School of Oriental and African Studies (London). Professor Lewis very kindly introduces the present volume.

Professor Charles Miller (then at the American University of Beirut), Dr. Anahid Melikian, and Professor Asad Rustum (Lebanese University) read my text at various stages of the work. Miss Nida Baroody carefully went through the completed work, offering valuable criticism and suggestions. Mgr. Mikhail Rajji (Bkerke), Mgr. Zacharia Melche (Dayr ash-Sharfeh), R.P. Ignace Abdou Khalifeh (Bibliothèque Orientale), Dr. César Chidiac (private collection), and the directors and staff of the libraries of the School of Oriental and African Studies, the American University of Beirut, the British Museum, and the Vatican were all most helpful. Miss Jean Elizabeth Blair (London), Mrs. Badih Kettaneh, and Miss Katherine Mansour typed the drafts, Miss Mansour also helping in the index. Mr. Marun Kisrawani, Mr. Edward Vitale, Mr. Nazih Zaydan, and Mr. George Sayegh read with me the proofs, and Mr. Jad Karam drew the map.

My colleague Professor Nicola Ziadeh encouraged me to revise the work and submit it to the Publications Committee of the American University of Beirut, which voted the printing costs.

To all those mentioned and to the many others who have helped me, I wish to express my thanks.

In these studies I have consistently transliterated the classical Arabic masculine plurals in the nominative form, regardless of case (thus *banū*, never *banī*). This does not apply to colloquial masculine plurals (*e.g. muqaddam*, pl. *muqaddamīn*, never *muqaddamūn*). Unless otherwise stated, the English translations from Arabic, Latin, Italian, and Old French are mine.

American University of Beirut,
June 10, 1959. Kamal S. Salibi

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MARONITE HISTORIANS OF MEDIÆVAL LEBANON

INTRODUCTION

Lebanese histories are the basic source, and often the only one, for the history of Lebanon (1) between the twelfth and the sixteenth centuries, during the period of Crusader and Mamluk rule; and although non-Lebanese literature occasionally substantiates what the Lebanese historians mention, it rarely adds much to their accounts. The Arabic chroniclers of Zengid, Ayyūbid, and Mamluk times made almost no reference to the internal affairs of Lebanon—a mountainous borderland, of military rather than political significance to the central authorities at Damascus or Cairo. They alluded to help offered by Lebanese mountaineers to the Crusaders or the Mongols, or mentioned punitive expedi-

(1) The term "Lebanon", in general use, denotes either the present-day Lebanese Republic or the mountain range (and the 1864-1914 Ottoman *mutasarriflik*) normally called "Mount Lebanon" or "the Lebanon". I shall use the term in a special sense for that part of present-day Lebanon which fell within the County of Tripoli and the baronies of Beirut and Sidon (of the Kingdom of Jerusalem) in Crusader times, and later within the Mamluk *mamlaka* of Tripoli and *wilāyāt* of Beirut and Sidon (of the *mamlaka* of Damascus) — roughly, Mount Lebanon and the adjacent coast.

tions which attempted to reduce the Druzes and other heterodox Moslems of the region; but even such passing mention is rare. Nor did the Eastern Christian chroniclers pay much attention to Lebanon—a strange fact, considering that the country was a haven for Eastern Christianity. The same may be said for the Crusader historians, many of whom praised the courage, military skill, and faithful service of the Maronites of Lebanon, without relating detail. Pilgrim and Roman missionary literature of the Crusader and of later periods is a valuable source, particularly for the history of the Maronites; but the later pilgrims and missionaries tended to repeat earlier ones, and did not always record their own observations.

Lebanese scholars, starting with the last decade of the nineteenth century, have shown an increasing interest in Lebanese historiography, and have paid special attention to the Maronite histories which form the major part of it (1). The writings of Jibrā'īl Ibn al-Qilā'ī and Isṭifān ad-Duwayhī, the founder and first great author of the Maronite historiographic tradition, have already appeared in print, and so have other works; but the critical study of these sources has scarcely begun. So far, Georg Graf has contributed most to the subject. In his *Geschichte der christlichen*

(1) The two known non-Maronite Lebanese histories dealing with the mediæval period were written by Druzes: the Buḥturid emir Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā, who wrote in the first half of the fifteenth century, and Ibn Sibāṭ (Ḥamza ibn Aḥmad, also surnamed al-Faqīh and al-'Ālayhī) who served the Buḥturid emirs as a clerk and died in 1520. A poor edition of Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā's history was made by Louis Cheikho (*Tārīkh Bayrūt wa akhbār al-umarā' al-Buḥturiyyūn min banū al-Gharb*, Beirut 1927; see corrections by Jean Sauvaget "Corrections au texte imprimé de l'histoire de Beyrouth de Ṣāliḥ b. Yaḥyā," in *Bulletin d'études orientales*, VII-VIII, 1937-1938). For the history of Ibn Sibāṭ (no formal title), I have used the American University of Beirut manuscript (MS 956.9, I 13). Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā depended for his history on oral accounts and on family papers, many of which he quoted *verbatim*. Ibn Sibāṭ relied mainly on Ṣāliḥ; but he carried the history down to the end of the fifteenth century. For the history of their respective times, both depended on personal observation.

arabischen Literatur (Vatican City, 1944-1953), he listed an appreciable number of Maronite histories available partly or fully in manuscript, in print, or in quotation by later authors, and also attempted a critical evaluation of the more important ones. Although his survey of the literature is not complete and his critical treatment inadequate in places, Graf has cleared the first obstacles to the study of Maronite historiography.

The present work is not a history of Maronite historiography, nor is it a survey of the Maronite literature on mediæval Lebanon. It is an analysis of the history of Lebanon under Crusader and Mamluk rule (1099-1516) as presented by three leading Maronite historians of the traditional school: Ibn al-Qilāʿī (d.1516), Duwayhī (d.1704), and Ṭannūs ash-Shidyāq (d.1861). Nevertheless, some general remarks on the rise and development of the Maronite historiographic tradition are necessary.

Traditional Maronite historiography seems to have originated as an expression of national pride. As a small and closely-knit community surrounded by enemies, the Maronites tended to be deeply interested in their own history (1), taking pride in having retained their identity through many changes of fortune. Their church, perhaps the smallest of the Eastern Christian communions and by no means the oldest, was the first to begin a tradition of attachment to Rome. More important still, it was never subject to the same degree of Moslem tutelage as the other Eastern Christian churches. Through centuries of Moslem rule, the Maronites succeeded in keeping their mountain homeland free of the direct political authority of Islam. Their awareness of all this, no doubt, contributed to that intense national pride which inspired and was expressed in their historiography.

A related factor which also contributed to the development of Maronite history writing was the determination of the Maronites

(1) Georg Graf considers the Maronites as the Eastern Christian community ranking highest in historical writing. *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur*, III, p. 306.

to rebut all evidence pointing to their heretical origin and all denials of their original and unbroken orthodoxy and union with Rome. The Maronites were originally a Monothelite communion, and it was only in the late twelfth century that they became attached to Rome. William of Tyre, the Crusader historian who was contemporary to the union, related the event, and later writers on the subject referred to him, to the embarrassment of the Maronites. Moreover, there were several anti-Catholic movements among the Maronites during the three centuries which followed their union with Rome in c.1180 (1). These movements, though not ultimately successful, were widespread enough to give visiting pilgrims and missionaries from Europe an unfavourable impression of the community's orthodoxy. Faced with repeated denials of their original and unbroken orthodoxy, Maronite scholars, starting with Ibn al-Qilāʿī, rose to defend it and went back to the history of their community for evidence. In this manner, Maronite historiography developed partly as a by-product of polemics.

Little is known about Maronite historiography before Ibn al-Qilāʿī. Graf listed only two Maronite histories written before the fifteenth century: a Church history by the monk Yūḥannā (Yūḥannā ar-Rāhib al-Mārūnī), who lived in the thirteenth century (2), and an early fourteenth century history of the monastery of Mār Shallīṭā Maqbis in Kisrawān (1194-1307) by Tādrus, archbishop of Ḥamā—a brief sketch which must have formed part of a larger work (3). Ilyās of Mʿād, a contemporary of Ibn al-Qilāʿī, appears to have been a chronicler of some importance; but his work, known only through reference by Duwayhī, is yet to be discovered.

(1) See Kamal S. Salibi, "The Maronite church in the Middle Ages and its union with Rome," in *Oriens Christianus*, XLII (1958), p. 92-104.

(2) G. Graf, *op. cit.*, II, p. 101.

(3) *Ibid.*, II, p. 100-101. Graf called him Tādrus al-ʿĀqūrī, archbishop of Ḥamā. His history of the monastery of Mār Shallīṭā Maqbis was published by Būlus Qara'lī as an appendix to Ibn al-Qilāʿī's *Madīḥa ʿalā Jabal Lubnān* (see below, p. 35, fn. 7) in *Ḥurūb al-muqaddamīn* (Bayt Shabāb, 1937), p. 85-88.

Ibn al-Qilāʿī is the earliest Maronite historian whose works are still largely available. In his history, he was exclusively concerned with his own community and church, and his principal aim was to prove to the dissident Maronites of his day that their church had always been in communion with Rome and that occasional lapses into heresy had been invariably followed by disaster. It was for this purpose that he wrote *Madīḥa ʿalā Jabal Lubnān*: a fanciful history of his community from an indefinite past—a golden age of orthodoxy and material prosperity—to his own day.

With Duwayhī the scope of Maronite historiography became wider, reflecting the political development of the community during the first two centuries of Ottoman rule. At the time of Ibn al-Qilāʿī, the Maronites were an isolated community ruled by their own *muqaddamīn* (village and district chieftains), who paid an irregular tribute to the Mamluk agents in Tripoli. They were little concerned with their Moslem or Druze neighbours, except for the memory of past hostilities. The situation was different at the time of Duwayhī. Starting with the early seventeenth century, Maronites and Druzes had shared in a Lebanon unified under Druze leadership. Fakhr ad-Dīn II (1585-1635), who had brought about this unification, had also widened the Lebanese horizon by extending his control over the Biqāʿ, Galilee, and other neighbouring regions. Duwayhī reflected all this in his historical writings. Not only did he take interest in the history of the Druzes and the other non-Maronite communities in Lebanon, but he also considered the regional history of Syria. Duwayhī, however, remained primarily a historian of his own church and community, and much of his work was written in defence of Maronite perpetual orthodoxy.

Ibn al-Qilāʿī and Duwayhī were both clergymen, and so were nearly all the Maronite historians before the nineteenth century. Even later on, and down to the present day, Maronite historiography continued to be a predominantly clerical tradition, with the defence of the perpetual orthodoxy of the community

as an outstanding feature. With the nineteenth century, however, the lay Maronite historian appeared, and viewed Lebanese history from a non-ecclesiastical angle. Living in an age when Lebanon had already become an international issue, historians like Anṭūniyūs Abū Khaṭṭār al-ʿAynṭūrīnī (d.1821) (1), Ḥaydar ash-Shihābī (d. 1835) (2), and Ṭannūs ash-Shidyāq were interested more in the political history of their country than in Church history and theological polemics. ʿAynṭūrīnī paid some attention to Church history, and Shihābī occasionally followed Duwayhī in relating the role played by the Maronites at a Church council; but both were interested mainly in feudal Lebanon. Shidyāq showed no concern at all with Church history. In *Akhbār al-aʿyān fī Jabal Lubnān*, he dealt with the origins and genealogies of the feudal families of Lebanon and with the internal political history of the country under their leadership. This he did at a time when the Lebanese feudal system had already matured and was approaching its downfall.

Although the founders and early masters of the Maronite historiographic tradition were educated in Italy, the tradition which they started and developed in Lebanon flourished in

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(1) The history of ʿAynṭūrīnī, entitled *Mukhtaṣar tārīkh Jabal Lubnān* (published by Ighnāṭiyūs Ṭannūs al-Khūrī, Beirut 1953), is a medley of genealogies and sketches dealing mainly with feudal Mount Lebanon, with some concentration on Maronite church history. The author was an important feudal sheikh in northern Lebanon (district of ʿAyn Ṭūrīn) whose political ambitions brought about his arrest, torture, and execution at the orders of Bashīr II, the governing emir of Lebanon. Graf (*op. cit.*, III, p. 477-478) mistakenly lists ʿAynṭūrīnī among the Maronite clerical writers because, as sheikh, he bore also the clerical title of *shammās* (deacon), following an old Maronite custom.

(2) Ḥaydar ash-Shihābī was a member of the ruling dynasty of the Shihābs and a cousin of Bashīr II. He wrote a chronicle in three volumes dealing with the general history of Syria with particular emphasis on Mount Lebanon and some reference to Maronite church history. Only the first volume of this chronicle, entitled *Al-ghurar al-ḥisān fī tārīkh ḥawādith az-zamān*, concerns us here, since it covers the period 622-1697. The whole work was printed in Cairo in 1900-1901, under the title *Tārīkh al-Amīr Ḥaydar ash-Shihābī*.

isolation. Until the late nineteenth century, it remained unexposed to criticism (1). Historians who had been trained in the Western scholarly discipline wrote for their countrymen who, unfamiliar with that discipline, did not challenge the validity of their conclusions. Consequently, the Maronite historians became naïvely dogmatic in their assertions and denials of historical fact. The isolation of their historiographic tradition also led to a close interdependence among them. They frequently repeated one another, and mistakes committed by some reappear in the works of others several generations later. Ibn al-Qilāʿī, whose history confuses fact and legend, was followed and imitated in his historical *zajaliyyāt* (poems in the Arabic vernacular) by a number of writers, like Archbishop Ilyās ibn Ḥannā of Ihdin (2) and Patriarch Yūsuf al-ʿĀqūrī (3). Duwayhī, the first Maronite historian to attempt

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(1) There were Maronite historians like Murhij ibn Nimrūn, or Nayrūn (Faustus Naironus, d. 1712) and Yūsuf Shamʿūn as-Simʿānī (Joseph Simonius Assemanus, d. 1768) who lived mainly in Italy (the former was born in Italy) and wrote in Latin. These historians, however, cannot be considered strictly as belonging to the traditional school of Maronite historiography which flourished in Lebanon, written in classical or Lebanese colloquial Arabic. Faustus Naironus (*Dissertatio de origine, nomine, ac religione Maronitarum*, Rome 1679) and Assemanus (*Biblioteca orientalis...*, Rome 1719-1728) wrote their main works in Latin presumably for Western scholars. They were only interested in the origins of the Maronites and their church and did not consider Maronite or Lebanese history on the whole, as the historians of the school of Ibn al-Qilāʿī and Duwayhī did. For Faustus Naironus see G. Graf, *op. cit.*, III, p. 359 *et seq.* For Assemanus, see *ibid.*, III, p. 444 *et seq.*

(2) Archbishop Ilyās ibn Ḥannā of Ihdin (d. 1659) was the uncle of Isṭifān ad-Duwayhī. He left a *zajal* history of the Maronites, written in 1606 and as yet unpublished, in which he dealt with the same themes as Ibn al-Qilāʿī. G. Graf, *op. cit.*, III, p. 335.

(3) Yūsuf al-ʿĀqūrī (d. 1644), an old student of the Maronite College in Rome, became bishop of Sidon in 1626 and Maronite patriarch in 1648. He left a *zajaliyya* about the wars between the Melchites and the Maronites towards the end of the seventh century, a part of which still exists in quotation by Duwayhī (*Tārīkh aṭ-ṭāʾifa al-mārūniyya*, Beirut 1890, hence *TTM*, p. 82). G. Graf, *op. cit.*, III, p. 339.

a critical approach to the history of his community in the later Middle Ages, was utilized and expanded by later historians like Yūsuf Mārūn ad-Duwayhī (d.1780) (1), Yūḥannā Bādinjānā (1768) (2), Anṭūn Qayyāla (1768) (3), and Philip Jumayyil (d. 1796) (4), as well as by Yūsuf ad-Dibs (d.1907), the last of the great masters of the clerical Maronite historiography (5). In the early nineteenth century lay Maronite historians like Ḥaydar ash-Shihābī and Ṭannūs ash-Shidyāq also relied much on Duwayhī, while using other sources.

Besides, the very factors which had brought about the development of Maronite historiography were responsible for its most serious faults. In their eagerness to demonstrate the past glories of their community, the Maronite historians tended to overestimate the autonomy which the Maronites had enjoyed under the Franks and the Mamluks, and also to exaggerate the role they played in the Crusader and Mamluk periods. This is particularly true of Ibn al-Qilāʿī. In his *Madīḥa ʿalā Jabal Lubnān*, he made no attempt to distinguish between those of his heroes who were Maronite chieftains and those who were Frankish lords or princes. Almost every character, including the counts of Tripoli and the lords of Jubayl, may be mistaken for a Maronite. Duwayhī, who showed a remarkable critical ability while relating certain events,

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(1) Yūsuf Mārūn ad-Duwayhī was also an old student of Rome. He was the author of a treatise in praise of the Maronites in which he considered their origin, their early history, and their patriarchs (Sbath Fihris 1438). Graf, *op. cit.*, III, p. 467-468. A short selection from this treatise is published in *TTM*, p. 279-280.

(2) Yūḥannā Bādinjānā, a Maronite priest from Aleppo, wrote a defence of Maronite orthodoxy (*Mir'āt al-ḥaqq al-waḍī'a fī sharaf al-milla al-mārūniyya*). G. Graf, *op. cit.*, III, p. 468.

(3) Anṭūn Qayyālā, a Maronite priest from Beirut, wrote a defence of the perpetual orthodoxy of the Maronites in 1768. G. Graf, *op. cit.*, III, p. 468-469.

(4) Graf mentioned Philip Jumayyil among the Maronite historians who used Duwayhī's history and expanded on it (*ibid.*, III, p. 307), but he mentioned nothing about his life or his works. I have not come across any of his works.

(5) *Ibid.*, p. 307. Some of the works of Yūsuf ad-Dibs, who was archbishop of Beirut, have been used in this study. See Bibliography.

and whose polemics reveal a keen and well-trained mind, was not entirely free from this naïve approach to the political history of his community. The zeal of the Maronite historians to prove the original and unbroken orthodoxy of their church and to refute all the evidence against it also had a detrimental effect on the quality of Maronite historical writing. All the Maronite historians who considered the history of their church were highly critical of the source material which reflected unfavourably on its perpetual orthodoxy, and accepted favourable evidence uncritically, no matter how spurious. Some among them distorted historical facts almost beyond recognition to suit their hypothesis.

The value of Maronite historiography as a source for the history of Crusader and Mamluk Lebanon lies in the relative poverty of other sources, not in intrinsic qualities of objectivity and fulness of scope. Few indeed are the contemporary accounts of mediæval Lebanon which have come down to us. Most of the Maronite histories available today were written in the Ottoman period, and their authors relied on earlier works such as those of Ibn al-Qilāʿī and Ilyās of Mʿād, and occasionally on scholia and inscriptions. These sources did not provide much material. They dealt only with a few outstanding and often unrelated events; and the later historians interpreted the material to suit their national vanity. The result was a history lacking in continuity and eulogistic in conception. In writing about non-Maronite Lebanon during the same period, the Maronite historians took no special stand, but they depended on sources which in themselves were not impartial. The Druze historian Ibn Sibāṭ (d.1520), on whom historians like Duwayhī, Shihābī, and Shidyāq relied, presented the history of mediæval Druze Lebanon from the Buḥturid point of view; and the oral and written accounts of Moslem and Druze family history which Shidyāq and ʿAynṭūrīnī used could not have been less interested. Here, it is to the credit of Maronite historiography that it preserved much of the mediæval history of non-Maronite Lebanon, for the only non-Maronite sources

which still exist are the histories of Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā and Ibn Sibāṭ (1).

The study of Maronite and other Lebanese sources is essential to the understanding of the history of Lebanon in the later Middle Ages. This history has not yet been written, and no proper history of Lebanon is possible without it. It was during the Crusader and Mamluk periods that the foundations of Lebanese feudalism were laid. It was also then that the earliest relations between Christian Lebanon and Western Europe were established, and that the tradition of Lebanese autonomy first developed.

The three studies which follow will consider the history of Crusader and Mamluk Lebanon as presented by Ibn al-Qilā'ī, Duwayhī, and Shidyāq. Each of these three historians represents a period of Maronite historiography; and the history of each will be examined and compared, wherever possible, with material available from other sources. These three historians, it must be remembered, may have been the most prominent, but they were certainly not the only Maronite historians of mediæval Lebanon. There are others whose works are known, and there may be many more whose writings lie forgotten in the Lebanese monasteries or among family papers. The following studies are only the beginning of research in a field which may be vaster than imagined at present.

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(1) See above, p. 14, fn. 1.

I

THE HISTORY OF JIBRĀ'ĪL IBN AL-QILĀ'Ī

In 1516, the year in which the Ottomans conquered Syria and Lebanon, Jibrā'īl ibn al-Qilā'ī, Maronite bishop of Cyprus, died in Nicosia (1). As far as it is known, he was the first Maronite to study in Italy (2), and also the first to collect and record information about the history of his people from the beginning of the Crusades to his own day. The historical material found in his letters and *zajaliyyāt* was used by later Maronite historians; and his various writings are a basic source for that obscure period in Lebanese history—the period of Crusader and Mamluk rule.

Jibrā'īl ibn Buṭrus al-Liḥfidī was born towards the middle of the fifteenth century in the village of Liḥfid, near Jubayl, in the *mamlaka* (Mamluk province) of Tripoli (3). He was surnamed Ibn al-Qilā'ī, and also Ibn Ghūriyya, because his father had built a house in the rocky outskirts (*qilā'*) (4) of

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(1) Isṭifān AD-DUWAYHĪ, *Tārīkh al-azmina* (Beirut, 1950; hence *TA*), p. 237.

(2) P. DIB, "Maronites", in *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique* (Paris, 1928), X, p. 47. Ibn al-Qilā'ī studied in Italy before the establishment of the Maronite College in Rome in 1584. See below, p. 90 fn. 3.

(3) For the biography of Ibn al-Qilā'ī see DUWAYHĪ, *TTM*, p. 412, 417-424; Yūsuf AD-DIBS, *Al-jāmi' al-mu'aṣṣal fī tārīkh al-Mawārina al-mufaṣṣal* (Beirut, 1905), p. 310-311; P. DIB, *loc.cit.*; Louis CHEIKHO, "Les poètes arabes chrétiens après l'Islam" (in Arabic) in *al-Mashriq*, XXV (1927), p. 266-267.

(4) In classical Arabic *qal'a* (pl. *qilā'*) means fortress. In the Lebanese vernacular it denotes the rocky uncultivated lands that lie outside villages and towns.

Ghūriyya, a farming village in the Liḥfid district (1). His parents entrusted his early education to the priest Ibrāhīm Dray' (2), who taught him to read Syriac and Arabic; and when he reached manhood they found for him a suitable bride among his kinswomen. Shortly after that, Jibrā'īl became afflicted with an eye disease (3), and the arrangements for his marriage had to be cancelled. It was then that he decided to turn away from the world and devote the rest of his life to the service of the Church and the pursuit of learning (4).

At that time, Fra Gryphon of Flanders, the famous Franciscan

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(1) Duwayhī, *TTM*, p. 412.

(2) This is how the name appears in one of Ibn al-Qilā'ī's poems (*Tabkīt kull man zāgh 'an al-īmān*, published by Ibrāhīm Ḥarfūsh in *al-Manārā*, II (1931), p. 748-758, 805-813, 901-907, from the unique manuscript in MS Bkerke 13; hence *Tabkīt...*):

> I speak about the priest Ibrāhīm
> Who is fancifully nicknamed Dray':
> As his student, I learnt to use
> And understand the Syriac tongue.

(*Ibid.*, p. 812). Duwayhī, *loc.cit.*, called him Ibrāhīm ibn Duray'. I will try, wherever relevant and possible, to transliterate personal names and place names according to the Lebanese pronunciation, except when an accepted English form of the name exists (*e.g.* Beirut, Sidon, Tyre, Baalbek).

(3) Apparently, the eye disease from which Ibn al-Qilā'ī suffered as a young man was later cured. He wrote at the end of *Madīḥat Mār Nuhrā* (Praise of St. Lucius, found in two copies in MS Bkerke 13):

> It was written by the slave and guide
> Ibn al-Qilā'ī of Liḥfid:
> The light of his eyes, which had been dimmed,
> Was cured through the intercession of Mār Nuhrā.

(4) Ibn al-Qilā'ī wrote in his *Abyāt 'an al-'ulūm wa'l burūj* (Verses about the sciences and the constellations, in MS Bibliothèque Orientale 15, p. 38):

> He who would follow me and take my advice
> Will not seek to own on earth except the book.
> He will study in the field of paper, in hope and fear,
> And will not feel ashamed of his uncertainty.

missionary to the Maronites (1), was in Lebanon; and it was with his help that Jibrā'īl and two other young Maronites, Yūḥannā and Fransīs, were received into the Franciscan order (2). After a brief noviciate in Jerusalem, the three young men were sent to Rome in 1470 and took orders there; and they remained for many years in Italy, studying Latin, theology, science and other subjects. In later years Ibn al-Qilā'ī was to boast to his countrymen of the learning he had acquired in a distant land:

> O brothers, your slave travelled and gained experience;
> He lived in village and city, in wilderness and desert.
> He was born in the land of Syria (3), in the province (4) of Tripoli,
> And he studied in books, in a land beyond the seas.
> He makes his wisdom known in the Greek tongue;
> And he is well versed in the learning of the Franks:
> He came to know through it the roots of all the sciences,
> And became acquainted with philosophy and theology (5).

Ibn al-Qilā'ī returned from Italy in 1493 as a Franciscan priest, full of Catholic zeal; and he was alarmed to find many of his fellow Maronites in Lebanon attracted to the Jacobite church (6). Clerics and laymen, led and encouraged by *Muqaddam*

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(1) For the mission of Fra Gryphon in Lebanon, see H. LAMMENS, "Frère Gryphon et le Liban au XVème siècle", in *Revue de l'Orient chrétien*, IV (1899), p. 68-104.

(2) Francesco SURIANO, *Il trattato di Terra Santa e dell 'Oriente* (Florence, 1900), p. 70-71; P. DIB, *loc.cit.*

(3) Arabic: *bilād ash-Shām.*

(4) Arabic: *mu'āmala.* The Mamluk term for a province such as Tripoli was *mamlaka* or *niyāba.* The term *mu'āmala* was used in later Ottoman times, and it may have been added by a copyist to replace a less familiar earlier term.

(5) *Abyāt fī'l-abrāj wa'l-aflāk wa'l-a'yād al-mutaḥarrika* (Verses on the constellations, the orbits, and the inconstant feast days, in MS Bibliothèque Orientale 15, p. 47). Although the verses do not include the name of their author (as was the custom), it is probably safe to assume that they were written by Ibn al-Qilā'ī, who was born in the Mamluk *mamlaka* of Tripoli and studied overseas. The verses are found in an anthology of Ibn al-Qilā'ī's *madāyiḥ* (praise poems). F. SURIANO, *loc.cit.*, said that Ibn al-Qilā'ī had studied in Venice.

(6) The spread of the anti-Catholic movement in Maronite Lebanon in the late fifteenth century will be discussed later on in this chapter. See below, p. 80 *et seq.*

'Abd al-Mun'im of Bsharrī, the most powerful Maronite chieftain of his day, had renounced Roman orthodoxy and become converted to the Monophysite faith by Jacobite missionaries. The patriarch (Sham'ūn, or Sim'ān, Buṭrus al-Ḥadathī, 1492-1524) and the majority of the Maronite clergy had remained faithful to Rome, but they were unable to stop the heresy from spreading.

Ibn al-Qilā'ī did not stay long in Lebanon. He visited the Maronite patriarch, met some of the leaders of the community (including *Muqaddam* 'Abd al-Mun'im), then left for Jerusalem with Fra Francesco Suriano, the newly appointed superior of the Franciscans of the Holy Land (1); but he had stayed long enough to observe the Jacobite methods of propaganda. Taking advantage of the ignorance of the Maronites, and particularly their ignorance of Church doctrine, the Jacobite missionaries used education to attract young Maronites to their church. Ibn al-Qilā'ī decided to combat this propaganda with its own weapons. Realizing the effectiveness of the *zajaliyya* for popular teaching, he made full use of it, and spent the remaining years of his life writing verse in the Lebanese vernacular on medicine, science, astronomy, history, hagiology, Church history, and theology. Much of this verse was of poor artistic quality, but it did achieve its aim, and was treasured by later generations. Ibn al-Qilā'ī also set out to educate the Maronite clergy, writing or translating from Latin for that purpose many works on theology, Church discipline, ritual, and dogma. He also wrote many letters to Maronite clergymen and notables, rebuking those among them who had strayed from Roman orthodoxy, warning the fickle, and preaching to the faithful.

Shortly after he arrived in Jerusalem, Ibn al-Qilā'ī wrote

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(1) Fra Francesco Suriano, a Venetian by birth, was elected Superior of the Franciscans of Terra Santa on May 24, 1493. He probably accompanied Ibn al-Qilā'ī on his journey back from Rome in that same year and visited the Maronite patriarch with him. Suriano's first term of office as superior ended in 1495; but he was reelected to that same position in 1514. G. GOLUBOVICH, *Serie chronologica dei reverendissimi superiori di Terra Santa* (Jerusalem, 1898), p. 35, 43.

his first major work, *Mārūn aṭ-ṭūbānī* (the Blessed Mārūn) (1), to demonstrate the principles of Roman orthodoxy to the Maronite clergy and to inform them about the historic relations between their church and the Apostolic See. The book falls into three parts. The first, entitled *Muhdī al-akhlāq* (the guide to good character), is composed of eight classics on theology (seven of which are reproduced in their Syriac original, and one in Syriac translation from its Latin original) (2), followed by Arabic translations of seven papal bulls which had been sent to the Maronite patriarchs since 1215 (3). The second part is called *Thabāt aṣ-ṣidq* (the constancy

(1) *Mārūn aṭ-ṭūbānī* is not published. It is available in a unique manuscript in the Vatican Library (Vat. arab. 640, f.1-193; Karshūnī 1574).

(2) These theological tracts are by Severianus of Jabala (f.5v-8v), Cyrillus of Alexandria (f.8v-10r), Pope Leo the Great (in a Syriac translation, f.10r-16v), Jacob of Sarūj (f.16v-17v), Ephraem (f.17v-18r), Isaac of Antioch (f.18r-19r), again Isaac of Antioch (f.19r-23v), and again Ephraem (f.23v-26r). For a more detailed description see G. Graf, *op.cit.*, III, p. 318-319. These tracts are the only part of *Mārūn aṭ-ṭūbānī* which is in Syriac and not in Arabic.

(3) Duwayhī, who gave an account of *Mārūn aṭ-ṭūbānī* (*TTM*, p. 417-418), said that *Muhdī al-akhlāq* contained translations of the fourteen papal letters which had been addressed to the Maronites. In his letter to Patriarch Sham'ūn dated November 6, 1494 (*al-Manāra*, III, 1932, p. 99-106, 176-183, 260-263; hence *Sham'ūn*), Ibn al-Qilā'ī mentioned that fourteen papal letters were found at the time at Qannūbīn (*ibid.*, p. 101). This may explain Duwayhī's mistake. The seven letters translated (in the order in which they appear in the book) were sent to the Maronite patriarchs by Innocent III in 1215 (f.26v-29v), Calixtus III in 1455 (f.30r-30v), Nicholas V in 1447 (f.30v-31r), Eugene IV in 1441 and in 1439 (f.31r-32r, 32r-33v), Paul II in 1469 (f.33v-35v), and Leo X in 1515 (f.35v-37v). The translation of this last letter must have been added to the book later, either by Ibn al-Qilā'ī himself or by a later copyist, since it had not yet been written when Ibn al-Qilā'ī wrote *Mārūn aṭ-ṭūbānī* (c.1495). Ibn al-Qilā'ī also mentioned a letter which Pope Alexander IV addressed to the Maronite patriarch in 1256 (*ibid.*, f.29v-30r), but he did not give its translation. The Latin texts of all these letters (except that of Eugene IV dated 1439) were published by Ṭūbiyyā al-'Anaysī (Tobiae Anaissi, *Bullarium Maronitarum*, Rome 1911: see also its criticism by C. Korolevskij, "A propos d'un bullaire maronite," in *Echos d'Orient*, 1912, p. 462-473). Ibn al-Qilā'ī made his translations from original copies found in his day at Qannūbīn (*Sham'ūn*, p. 101).

of the truth), and Ibn al-Qilāʿī introduced it as follows:

> I begin the second book [which is] about the belief of the people of Mārūn and their constancy in the lap of the Church of God.... First against those who... say that [the Maronites] did not originally follow [the faith of] the Franks (1).

But instead of proceeding with polemics on the original orthodoxy of the Maronites, Ibn al-Qilāʿī gave chronological lists of the Popes and the Roman and Byzantine emperors. The third and last part, entitled *Jihād al-īmān* (the war of the Faith), is composed of polemics against the Jacobites and the Melchites and a catechism of Roman orthodoxy, followed by an appendix on ecclesiastical discipline. Ibn al-Qilāʿī sent the finished work to Patriarch Shamʿūn, accompanied by a *zajaliyya* which he called *Tabkīt kull man zāgh ʿan al-īmān* (rebuke to every one who has strayed from the Faith: hence *Tabkīt . . .*) (2). In this *zajaliyya* he gave an account of his meeting with ʿAbd al-Munʿim of Bsharrī on his return from Italy, and called back to orthodoxy those Maronites who, like the *muqaddam*, had been attracted to the Jacobite heresy.

Towards the end of 1494, Ibn al-Qilāʿī returned to Lebanon to visit the Maronite patriarch and his flock and to preach Roman

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(1) MS *Mārūn aṭ-ṭūbānī*, f.39r. By "the Franks" Ibn al-Qilāʿī meant the Roman Catholics of the West.

(2) Duwayhī, who related the circumstances in which *Mārūn aṭ-ṭūbānī* was written (*TTM*, p. 417-418), quoted some verses from a *mīmar* (poem) which, he said, was sent to Patriarch Shamʿūn along with the finished work. This quotation identifies the poem as *Tabkīt...* (see above, p. 24, fn. 2). The poem dedicates *Mārūn aṭ-ṭūbānī* to "Buṭrus IV Ibn Ḥassān." Ibrāhīm Ḥarfūsh, who edited *Tabkīt...*, concluded from this that Ibn al-Qilāʿī had not dedicated his book to Patriarch Shamʿūn, but to his uncle and predecessor Buṭrus Ibn Ḥassān (1468-1492). See *Tabkīt...*, p. 904. All the Maronite patriarchs, however, add the name Buṭrus (Peter) to their original names; and Shamʿūn must also have been an Ibn Ḥassān, since he was the nephew of Buṭrus Ibn Ḥassān. It may be added here that Duwayhī called *Tabkīt...* elsewhere *Madīḥa ʿan al-ladhīn qaṣadū ramī az-zawān bayn al-Mawārina* (Poem about those who intended to sow tares among the Maronites: *TA*, p. 237).

Catholicism. Pope Alexander VI had instructed Fra Francesco Suriano, on his appointment, to supervise the Maronite church and send some of his monks on regular visits to Lebanon; and Ibn al-Qilā'ī was chosen for that purpose at the special request of Patriarch Sham'ūn. He accepted the appointment, but with condescension:

> Your Sanctity (he wrote to the patriarch) has written against my will to our head and director, the Superior of Zion, to send my humble self to your service this winter. To please your Sanctity, I have not refused the request . . . [and] being bound by holy obedience, I shall come to serve you . . . with or without a companion; and this is what no monk of Saint Francis other than my humble self would accept.... Moreover, I admit that I sought this appointment myself, because of my love for you and my longing for your salvation; for I have found you astray in your minds, lacking foundation, and not steadfast in the faith of your fathers . . . (1).

Ibn al-Qilā'ī continued to preach Catholicism to his people until 1496. During the three years that followed his return from Italy, he wrote 465 letters of guidance or rebuke (2), apart from the numerous *zajaliyyāt* and the books which he wrote or translated. Most of his letters are no longer available; but the following sample, from a letter to a former friend (the priest Jirjis ar-Rāmī) who had become heretical, suggests their tone:

> What qualifications do you have, O lost one, to discourse with the learned or to expound the books of the doctors? When has a council or debate taken place in your presence, that you dare say: "We attended and we saw"? Your first disgrace was enough, when your baptism and ordination were annulled and when you denied your religion and your faith. And should you say "no", I will answer that you were baptized in the faith of your Maronite fathers, through which you were ordained a deacon and a priest; for baptism is the basis of the Christian religion. You denied the religion of your fathers in which you were baptized, and [so] your baptism, religion, ordination, and priesthood became annulled.... And should you say: "I am a Maronite," I will answer: "You

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(1) *Sham'ūn*, p. 100. Ibrāhīm Ḥarfūsh published this letter from a copy by Isṭifān ad-Duwayhī.

(2) Duwayhī, *TTM*, p. 424.

lie in saying so! You are a spy among the Maronites!".... For you are like the beast which became wild again after it had been tamed . . . (1).

Ibn al-Qilā'ī's Catholic zeal and his capacity for hard work recommended him for promotion, and in 1496 he became the head of the Franciscan order in Cyprus. Accordingly, he left Lebanon and took residence in Nicosia, at the monastery of the Holy Cross (2). In 1507, when the Maronite bishop of Cyprus (Yūsuf al-Kizvāna) died, Ibn al-Qilā'ī succeeded him, remaining in that office until his death. However, he did not forget Lebanon during these twenty years and corresponded with his countrymen to the very end (3).

The works of Ibn al-Qilā'ī are as numerous as most of them are dull; and the 23 years spent in Italy in the heyday of the Renaissance appear to have had little effect on him, other than to turn him into a pedant. On the other hand, there is no doubt that he was by far the most learned and articulate Maronite of his day. Of the two companions who had studied with him in Rome neither had lived long enough to reach his position. Nothing is known about Fransīs, who seems to have died before attaining priestly rank (4). Yūḥannā (also known as Fra Juan the Maronite) appears to have been a brilliant student in Italy; but he was drowned in a gale on his way back to Lebanon with Ibn al-

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(1) *Ibid.*, p. 422-423. The letter is only available as quoted in full by Duwayhī in *ibid.*, p. 422-424.

(2) The Franciscan monastery of Nicosia (Santa Croce, or Holy Cross) was already existing in the first half of the thirteenth century. In 1426 the troops of the Mamluk sultan Barsbāy destroyed it and massacred all its monks; but it was already partly restored by the Franciscans in 1468. It was razed again at the time of the Ottoman conquest of Cyprus (1571), and its traces disappeared. The present monastery of the Holy Cross dates from 1592. See G. GOLUBOVICH, *Serie...*, p. 231-232.

(3) Ibn al-Qilā'ī wrote a letter from his deathbed to the people of Liḥfid, his hometown (Vatican Library, MS Borg. arab. 136, f.148v-149r).

(4) F. SURIANO, *op.cit.*, p. 71. He called him Francesco. The name is still current in Lebanon as Fransīs.

Qilāʿī (1), and the latter remained the only Maronite educated in Europe in his time. No wonder he pretended to be versed in every science and art! Duwayhī gave a list of Ibn al-Qilāʿī's writings (2):

A book of Church law(a); a book of sermons(b); a book about confession; a book about the pontificates of the Popes of Rome and their histories(c); a book on the history of the kings of Rome (d); a book about the belief of the Maronites and their union with the Chruch of Rome (e); a book on theology (f); a book on the orthodox Faith and the secret of the life of Christ(g);... some 500 letters written to his countrymen urging them to keep to the faith of Mār Mārūn and the Roman Church (h);... poems of praise (*madāyiḥ*) about the secret of the Holy Trinity and the Divine Incarnation (i), the life of Christ and His Mother under the Cross (j), the Two Natures of the Lord and the Two Wills in One Godhead, the knowledge of the Faith and the procedure of the Holy Ghost from the Father and the Son (k), the Pure Lady and Mother of Salvation, the stories of the Apostles (l), Constantine the Great and the beginning of Christianity (m), the four Councils and Mār Mārūn of Antioch (n), Abraham the Friend [of God], Mār Nūhrā aṣ-Ṣamarānī (St. Lucius) (o), St. Georges of Lydda (p), Mār Simʿān of Jubayl (q), Mār Shīnā the Thief (r), Barbāra of Baalbek, Euphrosine of Alexandria, the history of Kisrawān (s), those who intended to sow tares among the Maronites (t), his friend Fra Juan the Maronite (u), the nun who renounces her orders (v), the knowledge of orbits and constellations(w), . . . the sciences, the soul, repentance, death (x), forms of marriage, and others which we will not mention for the sake of brevity.

Ibn al-Qilāʿī wrote all this in Arabic, except for a few texts which he reproduced in their Syriac original. His books and letters which were addressed to the clergy were written in Classical Arabic—a language of which he had an imperfect knowledge. His orthography is often incorrect (3), and his syntax and idiom are

(1) Duwayhī, *TA*, p. 220. Ibn al-Qilāʿī wrote an elegy about his drowned school-mate and travelling companion which was published by G. Manache in *al-Mashriq*, XVIII (1920), p. 252-256 (hence *Elegy*). According to Duwayhī, Ibn al-Qilāʿī would have also lost his life at the time had it not been for a miracle.

(2) Duwayhī, *TA*, p. 237. For notes and references on this list see below, Appendix A.

(3) Some of the mistakes which recur in the orthography of Ibn al-Qilāʿī may have been usage in Karshūnī writing—the writing of Arabic in Syriac script.

foreign to Arabic, recalling both the Lebanese colloquial with its Syriac affinities, which was his mother tongue, and Latin, the language of his academic life in Italy. When he wrote verse (the *madāyiḥ*), however, he used the Lebanese vernacular (which seems to have changed little since the fifteenth century) and its traditional prosody, which is borrowed from the Syriac (1). In general, his *zajal* is unpolished, its rhymes being often poor approximations and its strophes difficult to scan.

As a Catholic propagandist, Ibn al-Qilāʿī was concerned more with theology and other religious and ecclesiastical subjects than with history, and whatever history he wrote was incidental to his mission. Besides, a great part of it is not relevant to Lebanon. One of his longest historical *zajaliyyāt* deals with the rise of Christianity and the conversion of Constantine the Great; and the historical sections of *Mārūn aṭ-ṭūbānī* merely list the Popes and the emperors of Rome and Byzantium. Other writings (letters or *zajaliyyāt*) are either apologies of the perpetual orthodoxy of the Maronites, or examples from history to illustrate the necessity of union with Rome.

Ibn al-Qilāʿī was one of the first Maronites to be directly acquainted with Western theology and Church literature and to read what Western authors had written about his community. Accordingly, he was the first to dispute what they had said about its heretical origin and to postulate its original and unbroken orthodoxy. He and his friend Yūḥannā were challenged on more than one occasion to defend this stand, during their stay in Italy:

> They said in the colleges: "Let us argue with Fra Juan!
> "Let us debate with his friend, and we will prove our stand!
> "Let us cleanse all churches [from heresy] as wheat [is cleansed] from tares,

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(1) Ibn al-Qilāʿī's favourite form of verse was the traditional four heptasyllabic (*afrāmī*) strophes, the first three of which rhymed together while the fourth carried a continuing rhyme throughout the poem. The *afrāmī* strophe was so called after St. Ephraem Syrus (d.373), the Syriac sacred poet.

"And destroy the seeds of wretchedness—heresy and the Tartars!" (1)
What they [really] meant to say, but kept a secret,
Was that we had been heretical in our early days.
The monk Yūḥannā answered, and the learned were struck dumb:
[Their] minds were put in confusion, and [their] reason and understanding failed (2).

The polemical defence of the perpetual orthodoxy of the Maronites and their unbroken union with Rome, which was first attempted by Ibn al-Qilā'ī and his friend in Italy, became a tradition of Maronite history writing, and has remained so until today (3). Ibn al-Qilā'ī used it to allay conservative opposition to the union by asserting that the maintenance of this union (and of Roman orthodoxy) was in keeping with the original condition and tenets of the Maronite church. He wrote his history to prove this point, and also to demonstrate how occasional lapses into schism or heresy had been followed by disaster.

Strictly speaking, Ibn al-Qilā'ī did not write history. His aim was not to give a factual picture of the past and relate it to his own time. He merely used historical material (which he frequently distorted and confused with legend) to prove to his community that the Roman Faith was the orthodox faith, that the Maronite church was orthodox by origin, and that the preservation of its original union with Rome was natural and necessary. His most important historical work, *Madīḥa 'alā Jabal Lubnān* (also called *Tārīkh Kisrawān* or *Madīḥat Kisrawān*: hence *Madīḥa* . . .) (4), was written for that purpose. Nevertheless, Ibn al-Qilā'ī used written sources. His translation of the papal bulls in *Mārūn aṭ-ṭūbānī* indicates a familiarity with archive material, which he admitted

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(1) It is not clear what Ibn al-Qilā'ī meant by this term (Arabic: *at-tatār*). Did he mean the Turks, and hence the Moslems?

(2) *Elegy*, p. 255.

(3) The last great exponent of the theory of the perpetual orthodoxy of the Maronites was Yūsuf ad-Dibs (d.1907). See Joseph Debs (Yūsuf ad-Dibs), *Perpétuelle orthodoxie des Maronites* (Arras, 1900).

(4) See above, p. 17; below, p. 35 *et seq.*

elsewhere: "No one can say that I invented all this . . .," he wrote to Patriarch Shamʿūn, "because I have collected fourteen papal bulls, with their lead and seals, from several countries; and they are now . . . in your monastery." He refers to other archive material in the same letter:

> Behold, your oaths of allegiance and your signatures, witnessed by Brother Gryphon, Brother Alexander, and Brother Simon, are found in Rome; and earlier ones witnessed by Brother Juan, the superior of Beirut, who represented your patriarch Yūḥannā al-Jājī at the Council of Florence; by the monk Aimeric . . .; by Cardinal Gulielmo, the legate of the Pope of Rome to your people, with whom the heads of your clergy and your learned men met in Tripoli . . . (1).

He referred to another such document in the *Madīḥa* . . . :

> They testified, and signed [an oath]
> To be satisfied with [St.] Peter's faith.
> [They promised] that no heretic would lead them astray
> Or live [among them] in Mount Lebanon.
> Two hundred and seventy [men] agreed [to the oath]:
> Their signatures are found on the deed,
> And there can be no doubt about their names:
> They are still to be found today (2).

Ibn al-Qilāʿī also used earlier Maronite histories, which have since been lost. Such sources are referred to in the *Madīḥa* . . .:

> How the ages change!
> And how they perplex the minds [of men]!
> Had [their events] not been recorded
> No man would have spoken of them.
> But [there are] annals to tell us
> Of things that happened in our homeland,
> And of those who, before our time,
> Were dwellers in Mount Lebanon (3).

And again, at the end of the poem:

> It is completed: it was written in tears
> And taken from the annals,

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(1) *Shamʿūn*, p. 102.
(2) *Madīḥa...*, p. 28.
(3) *Ibid.*, p. 10.

[To tell] of six hundred years which have passed —
The age of Mārūn in Mount Lebanon (1).

Such "annals" (*tawārīkh*) may have been local histories, such as the history of Tādrus of Ḥamā (2), or church histories like that of Yūḥannā ar-Rāhib al-Mārūnī (3). Ibn al-Qilā'ī may have also used marginal annotations on church books referring to historical events—Maronite scholia which have since been lost, but the like of which were used by Duwayhī for the history of a later period (4). It is also possible that he was acquainted with the Crusader chronicles and with the pilgrim literature of Europe, considering that he had spent many years in Italy.

Ibn al-Qilā'ī's *Madīḥa* . . . will receive most attention here. His *Tabkīt* . . ., which related contemporary events (5), and his letter to Patriarch Sham'ūn (6), which enumerated the successive renewals of Maronite allegiance to Rome, will also be considered; and so will relevant passages from his non-historical works, and others only found in quotation by later authors.

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The *Madīḥa* . . . is Ibn al-Qilā'ī's longest poetical work and the one which most nearly approaches the epic (7). It consists

(1) *Ibid.*, p. 72.
(2) See above, p. 16.
(3) See above, p. 16.
(4) See above, p. 21, and below, p. 100.
(5) See above, p. 28.
(6) See above, p. 27, fn. 3; 29.
(7) Manuscripts of the *Madīḥa*... are found in MS Bibliothèque Orientale 15 (Karsh. 1684), MS Bkerke 13, and Vat. syr. 210 (Karsh. 1654). See G. Graf, *op.cit.*, III, p. 330. Only sections of it are found in the known Bkerke manuscript, and the Bibliothèque Orientale manuscript lacks six pages from the beginning (p. 7-24 of the MS are lost). While inspecting the badly organized medley of manuscript material at Bkerke numbered Bkerke 13, I came across another copy of the poem, which Mgr. Rajji identified for me as the work of Mgr. Shiblī, archbishop of Beirut (d.1917). The copy, in Arabic script, must have been made from an older one which has since been lost. The published edition

of 294 quatrains (1), each of which is composed of four *afrāmī* strophes (2). The poem must have been written after 1495 (date of the death of *Muqaddam* 'Abd al-Mun'im) (3), because Ibn al-Qilā'ī mentioned in it the *muqaddam*'s death (4). On the whole, the *Madīḥa* . . . is a sermon in verse addressed, seemingly *post mortem*, to 'Abd al-Mun'im and to those Maronites who followed him in heresy.

It is not only in size that the *Madīḥa* . . . resembles the epic, but also in its poetic conception and its theme: the struggle of the emirs and chieftains of the free Maronites of Lebanon against Moslem invasion. Despite the occasional digression into theological technicality, the poem is heroic in tone, and attempts no distinction between authentic history and the fanciful or traditional. Its chronology is often incorrect, with a number of clumsy anachronisms; but, if used critically, it can be a useful source for an otherwise unknown period in the history of the Maronites.

The *Madīḥa* . . . may be divided into fourteen sections. The first is an introduction describing a golden age in Mount Lebanon (no date given), when

> The patriarch held authority,
> And the ruler was a man of valour:
> [Indeed], the two were brothers
> In virtue and in sound belief (5).

It is not clear whether this introduction refers to the earliest years of the Maronites in Mount Lebanon (the period of Mardaite

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(entitled *Ḥurūb al-muqaddamīn, 1075-1450*, Bayt Shabāb 1937) was prepared by Būlus Qara'lī from the Vatican MS, the Bibliothèque Orientale MS, and other manuscripts in private collections.

(1) This in the published edition.

(2) See above, p. 32, fn. 1.

(3) Duwayhī, *TA*, p. 221.

(4) *Madīḥa*..., p. 63. The mention of 'Abd al-Mun'im's death in the *Madīḥa*... may have been an interpolation, although there is no evidence to indicate that.

(5) *Ibid.*, p. 11.

settlements in the late seventh century) (1) or to their period of prosperity under Crusader rule. It may refer to no historic age, but merely to an imaginary past when Maronite military success was coupled with orthodoxy and religious unity. The second section relates the story of an unnamed emir of Baskintā (a village on the southern slopes of Jabal Ṣannīn) who terrorized the Biqā', and finally fell victim to an enemy stratagem (2). Next follows the crusade of the emir's nephew, *Muqaddam* Sim'ān, whom the "king" (*malik*) of Jubayl and the Maronite patriarch anointed *malik* of al-Khārija (later called Kisrawān) (3). The fourth section continues with the story of the *malik* Kisrā, the successor of Sim'ān, who gave Kisrawān its name (4). With this ends the first part of the poem, which deals with the Maronites victorious. The second part, dealing with the misfortunes of the Maronites after they fell into heresy, begins with the fifth section (5), which opens with the following lines:

> Satan, the father of every heresy,
> Seeing that the people of Mārūn were happy,
> Envied their lot and, through [the teachings] of two monks,
> Cast them into grief.

The story of the two monks follows. Their heretical teachings,

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(1) The *mukhtaṣar* of the *Madīḥa* ... (see below, p. 39) assigns the golden age to the seventh and early eighth centuries: "When the Moslems first entered the land of Syria, the Maronites used to live in Mount Lebanon and control the mountains and the neighbouring coastlands." *Mukhtaṣar...*, p. 9. Qara'lī, who edited both the *Madīḥa...* and its *mukhtaṣar*, prefers the twelfth century, when the Maronites were assisting the Crusaders against the Moslems. Ibn al-Qilā'ī does not appear to have intended any period in particular.

(2) *Madīḥa...*, p. 13. This section consists of six quatrains.

(3) *Ibid.*, p. 15-16. Ibn al-Qilā'ī mentioned that the patriarch came from Ḥālāt, and the *mukhtaṣar* identified him as Gregorius al-Ḥālātī (1130-1141). See below, p. 50. The events of this section, therefore, must have taken place during the twelfth century.

(4) *Ibid.*, p. 18-19.

(5) *Ibid.*, p. 21-23.

which were accepted by the patriarch Lūqā of Bnahrān(1), divided and weakened the Maronites; and the Moslems, taking advantage of that, attacked and destroyed Kisrawān (apparently the Mamluk expedition of 1305) (2). The sixth section relates the visit of Patriarch Irmiyā al-'Amshītī to Rome in 1215 (the first date given), explaining that he went there to seek indulgence from the Pope for the errors into which the Maronites had been led by the two heretical monks; and it ends with the mention of his death in 1230 (3). The opening lines of the following section announce a fresh outbreak of heresy, this time in Jibbat al-Munayṭra (4); but this announcement is followed by three separate stories. The first tells of a sultan who, having been well received by a Maronite monk during his exile, endowed the monasteries of the Qādīshā valley after his return to the throne (5). The second relates the destruction of al-Ḥadath, in Jibbat Bsharrī, by a Moslem army (1283) (6). The third tells of the appointment of a new *muqaddam* in Bsharrī who was also a subdeacon (*shidyāq*) (7).

The fall of Tripoli and Jubayl (to Qalāwūn in 1289) is the subject of the eighth section (8); and the two sections that follow relate the victory of the *muqaddamīn* of Mount Lebanon over the Moslem armies after the fall of Tripoli (actually in 1292) (9).

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(1) The identity of this patriarch is discussed below, p. 63.

(2) For the Kisrawān expedition of 1305, see below, p. 72 *et seq*.

(3) *Madīḥa*..., p. 25-28. The section consists of 38 quatrains.

(4) This section consists of 27 quatrains (*Madīḥa*..., p. 42-45). The term *jibba* (Syriac *geb*, a place or a country) is used in Lebanon to denote the mountainous provinces. Al-Munayṭra (La Moinestre) is a town in the mountains, east of Jubayl, which was the centre of an important fief in the County of Tripoli in Crusader times.

(5) *Ibid*., p. 43.

(6) *Ibid*., p. 44. See below, p. 61 *et seq*.

(7) *Ibid*., p. 44-45.

(8) *Ibid*., p. 47-48 (15 quatrains).

(9) *Ibid*., p. 51-54 (22 quatrains) and 55-56 (19 quatrains) respectively. For the events in question, see below, p. 69 *et seq*.

A detailed description of the battle, the guerilla strategy of the *muqaddamīn* (some of whom are mentioned by name), and the division of the booty is given. The eleventh section centres around the martyrdom of Patriarch Jibrā'īl of Ḥajūlā, who was burnt by the Moslems outside Tripoli in 1367 (1), but it also relates the return of the Maronites to orthodoxy after a lapse into heresy for which they had been punished.

The third and last part of the *Madīḥa* . . . opens with the twelfth section, describing the fall into heresy of *Muqaddam* 'Abd al-Mun'im of Bsharrī, in the days of Ibn al-Qilā'ī (2). It opens with a note of explanation:

> These events I recorded myself: I, Jibrā'īl al-Qilā'ī, who asks for repentance and prayer.

In the last two sections Ibn al-Qilā'ī addressed 'Abd al-Mun'im and the town of Bsharrī, calling them in turn to abandon the Monophysite error and return to the Catholic fold (3).

In its published edition, the *Madīḥa* . . . is accompanied, section by section, by an explanatory summary (*mukhtaṣar tārīkh*) which the editor, Būlus Qara'lī, found in a nineteenth century manuscript of the poem (4). Qara'lī did not know who the author of this *mukhtaṣar* was; and Graf, mistakenly, believed it was Ibn al-Qilā'ī himself (5). A manuscript of it written in c. 1863 and found at the Bibliothèque Orientale (Beirut), apparently its original (6),

(1) *Ibid.*, p. 59-62 (23 quatrains). For Patriarch Jibrā'īl of Ḥajūlā see Ṭūbiyyā AL-'ANAYSĪ, *Silsila tārīkhiyya li baṭarikat Anṭākiya al-mawārina* (Rome, 1927), p. 27. Also Isṭifān AD-DUWAYHĪ, *Silsilat baṭārikat aṭ-ṭā'ifa al-mārūniyya* (*al-Mashriq*, I, 1898; hence DUWAYHĪ, *SB*), p. 347; *TA*, p. 185-186.

(2) *Madīḥa...*, p. 63-66 (29 quatrains).

(3) *Ibid.*, p. 66-69 (24 quatrains) and 60-72 (20 quatrains) respectively.

(4) Būlus QARA'LĪ, *Ḥurūb...*, p. 7-8. The manuscript, he reports, is in Karshūnī script, and it is found in a private collection. He believes that it was copied from an older manuscript.

(5) G. GRAF, *op.cit.*, III, p. 328.

(6) MS Bibliothèque Orientale 57, f.15-18. The MS is a sketch book in which the anonymous author wrote down a few historical sketches and other

is introduced as follows:

> Since the history of... Bishop Jibrā'īl al-Qilā'ī is written in verse, and since its Arabic is weak and full of errors, as was the language of Lebanon in those days, [although he was] the most accurate of the historians of the Mountain and the first among them . . ., I shall render [his] history . . . in prose and make it as easy to understand as possible.

The *mukhtaṣar* is interesting because it shows how the *Madīḥa. . .* was understood and interpreted by later Maronite historians. Its author gave names and dates which sometimes serve as clues to the obscure passages, and at other times increase their confusion.

Tabkīt . . . , the other historical *zajaliyya* by Ibn al-Qilā'ī which will be considered, is only available in part. The published edition includes the sections which are found in a unique manuscript at Bkerke, and other sections quoted or paraphrased by Duwayhī (1). The poem is similar to the *Madīḥa . . .* in language and poetic structure (it is also written in *afrāmī* quatrains), but it is considerably shorter. Originally, it must have consisted of some 185 quatrains; and of these only 135 are still to be found (2). It begins with an

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unrelated pieces of information. Other than the *mukhtaṣar*, it contains chronological lists of the Popes, the Roman and Byzantine emperors, and the European kings (until approximately 1860), sketches on ancient history, a history of Church councils, a history of the old churches of Lebanon, a list of learned Maronites, astronomical calculations (p. 22: the date used for the calculations is 1863), a history of the village of M'ād, a history of the Baṣbūṣ family (probably the author's own), and a list of Lebanese saints. The MS bears no date. From its contents, it can be concluded that its author probably came from M'ād, and that he was acquainted with Ernest Renan, whom he assisted in excavations in the Jubayl district. As far as I know, I was the first to identify the *mukhtaṣar* in this MS as the original. It ends with the events of 1305. The published edition carries on until 1495, as the poem does. I shall refer to the manuscript and the published edition of the *mukhtaṣar* as *MS mukhtaṣar...* and *mukhtaṣar...* respectively.

(1) Seven pages are missing from the manuscript (MS Bkerke 13), those being p. 226-232. Duwayhī quoted 11 quatrains (*TTM*, p. 418-419), which are reproduced (in brackets) in *Tabkīt...*, p. 808.

(2) The poem covers 20 pages (p. 224-244) of MS Bkerke 13, and of these seven are lost. 121 quatrains are found on the remaining pages (an average of just over 9 quatrains to the page: the poem is not written in verse form, its verses being separated by points). This would give a total of 180 quatrains,

introduction of theological polemics, which must have been followed by a historical account of Maronite lapses into heresy until Ibn al-Qilā'ī's time — so it appears from the title which Duwayhī gave to the poem (1), and from three quatrains which he quoted from this lost section dealing with the Monothelite Tūmā al-Kafarṭābī(2). The following section (available from a quotation and paraphrase by Duwayhī) describes the ecclesiastical crisis which Ibn al-Qilā'ī found in Mount Lebanon on his return from Italy in 1493; and it continues with an account of his meeting with *Muqaddam* 'Abd al-Mun'im. A description of *Mārūn aṭ-ṭūbānī* comes next, explaining the purpose for which the book had been written, and ending with its dedication to Patriarch Sham'ūn (3). A eulogy addressed to *Muqaddam* Jamāl ad-Dīn Yūsuf, the orthodox son and successor of 'Abd al-Mun'im Ayyūb, follows; but, considering that *Tabkīt* . . . was written in 1494, one year before 'Abd al-Mun'im's death (4), this section must have been added to the poem later.

Ibn al-Qilā'ī's letter to Patriarch Sham'ūn (dated November 6, 1494), which will also be considered, is not a historical work; but it contains some history. In the first part of the letter, Ibn al-Qilā'ī informs Sham'ūn of his intention to spend the following winter at Qannūbīn, in accordance with the patriarch's request (5). The second part (and the one of historical interest) reviews the occasions on which the Maronites had renewed their allegiance to Rome (6); and the letter ends with a discussion of the Sacraments.

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to which a few more should be added to make up for the fractions. The verses available are the 121 found in MS Bkerke 13 and a total of 14 quoted by Duwayhī.

(1) See above, p. 28 fn. 2.

(2) See below, p. 45-46.

(3) *Tabkīt...*, p. 809-813. See above, p. 28 fn. 2.

(4) *Tabkīt...*, p. 906-907. The eulogy (in 11 quatrains) strongly differs in tone from the rest of the poem, and is full of praise for the *muqaddam* and prayers for a long life and a victorious career. It must be remembered here that *Tabkīt...* was written shortly after *Mārūn aṭ-ṭubānī*, which was written and sent to the patriarch in 1494. Duwayhī, *TA*, p. 221; above, p. 28.

(5) See above, p. 29.

(6) *Sham'ūn*, p. 102-106.

When Ibn al-Qilā'ī wrote the history of Lebanon, he was interested in the Maronite community, and only mentioned other groups incidentally. It is difficult to date the earliest events he related, such as the story of the emir of Baskintā:

The emir (1) lived in Baskintā,
And he sent his soldiers on a raid:
He ravaged the Biqā' with a single blow,
Killing its women and men.
He went up to live in Qab Ilyās (2),
And he mounted soldiers and guards.
The Biqā' was trodden under the hoofs of his horses,
And his news reached the sultan.
[The sultan] sent him envoys, with a robe of honour;
[And the emir] felt safe and sat with them to a meal.
But [the envoys] were followed by soldiers
Who attacked while he was unprepared.
They killed him, along with many of his men;
And many of the others were slain.
[The sultan's soldiers] set fire to Qab Ilyās
And possessed the Biqā' from that day.
The cause of all this was [excess of] drink,
And the dancing of a maiden before [the emir].
The captains, having heard of that,
Renounced their loyalty to him.
They deserted him, and he was killed;
And they buried his body in Qab Ilyās.
They did not write his name in the annals
Because he died while he was drunk (3).

The *mukhtaṣar* identified the sultan in this story as 'Abd al-

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(1) In the published edition (*Madīḥa...*, p. 13), the title given is *malik* (a title for a ruler which, in modern Arabic, signifies a king). Duwayhī (*TTM*, p. 73) quotes this passage, giving the title as emir (*al-mīr* in the Lebanese vernacular), which is most probably the correct one, and the word which makes the line scan better.

(2) Qab Ilyās is a town situated on an elevation at the eastern foot of Mount Lebanon, and flanking the central Biqā' to the west. It is not far south of the Beirut-Damascus highway.

(3) *Madīḥa...*, p. 13.

Malik ibn Marwān, the Umayyad caliph (685-715), pointing out that his reign coincided with that of Justinian II, the Byzantine emperor (who also came to the throne in 685) (1). Duwayhī gave a different explanation: the emir was Yūḥannā, emir of Mount Lebanon; and he was killed at the orders of Justinian II because he had refused to cease his raids on the Umayyad borderlands, as the agreement of 685 between 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān and the Byzantine emperor had specified (2). Ḥaydar ash-Shihābī disagreed with both: the unfortunate Lebanese chieftain was *Muqaddam* Ilyās of Mount Lebanon (who gave his name to the village of Qab Ilyās) (3). The *muqaddam* raided the Biqā' and was killed at the orders of the *wālī* of Damascus in 135 A.H. (752 A.D.), during the reign of the 'Abbāsid caliph Abū'l 'Abbās as-Saffāḥ (4). Whatever the case, the emir of Baskintā appears to have been the typical Mardaite chieftain of Mount Lebanon during the Umayyad and early 'Abbāsid period, who lived by raids and plunder and occasionally met a violent death (5).

The story of the emir of Baskintā is typical of Ibn al-Qilā'ī's history writing: it is told briefly, with no attempt to identify persons

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(1) *MS mukhtaṣar...*, f.15r; *mukhtaṣar...*, p. 12. The identification in the MS is crossed out, but still visible. In the published edition it appears fully.

(2) Duwayhī, *TTM*, p. 71-73.

(3) Ḥaydar ash-Shihābī, *Al-ghurar al-ḥisān fī tārīkh ḥawādith az-zamān* (Cairo, 1900), p. 100. According to Shihābī, the town was originally called al-Murūj. There is a tradition that Qab Ilyās is the shortened form of *Qabr* Ilyās (the grave of a Lebanese chieftain Ilyās). The latter form of the name is given by Muḥibbī (d. 1699) in *Khulāṣat al-athar fī a'yān al-qarn al-ḥādī 'ashar* (Cairo 1284, A.H.), IV, p. 427. Yāqūt (d. 1229) mentioned *Qabr Ilyās an-nabī* in the Biqā' (the grave of Ilyās the prophet, meaning the Biblical Elijah). See *Mu'jam al-buldān* (Leipzig, 1870), I, p. 699. See also Shidyāq, *Akhbār al-a'yān fī Jabal Lubnān* (Beirut, 1859), p. 32. A Roman roadside shrine carved in the rock above the town is popularly believed to be the grave of the *muqaddam*, or of the prophet Ilyās.

(4) Shihābī, *loc.cit.*

(5) See Kamal S. Salibi, "The Maronites of Lebanon under Frankish and Mamluk rule (1099-1516)," in *Arabica*, IV (1957), p. 288-290.

or fix dates. Ibn al-Qilā'ī related it with a twofold aim: first, to show how the Maronites lost the Biqā'; and second, to preach against the pleasures of the flesh — the emir was deserted by his soldiers because of his drunkenness and his admiration of a dancing girl; and for that reason also his name was not recorded in history (a convenient excuse for Ibn al-Qilā'ī).

Perhaps the earliest figure of the Crusader period about whom Ibn al-Qilā'ī wrote was Tūmā, the Maronite archbishop of Kafarṭāb (a town in northern Syria, south of Aleppo, and the seat of the diocese of Aleppo). This Tūmā had written a book (*al-Maqālāt al-'ashr*: the ten theses) in which he championed the Monothelitic doctrine (1). An unknown copyist had introduced the book as follows:

> We inform you, O brothers, that..., in the year 1400 of Alexander son of Philip the Greek [1089 A.D.], there was an exchange of letters between *Anbā* (2) Yūḥannā, patriarch of the Greeks in the city of Antioch, and *Anbā* Tūmā, Maronite archbishop of the diocese of Aleppo . . . They debated the . . . tenets of the Holy Faith in finding One Will or Two Wills in our Lord, the Lord Christ, glory be unto Him. After they had exchanged many letters, *Anbā* Yūḥannā . . . wrote a letter and sent it with a messenger to *Anbā* Tūmā, the Maronite archbishop, to Kafarṭāb . . ., [stating that] whoever does not believe that in our Lord, the Lord Christ, there are Two Wills would be in error; and he began to find fault in the belief of *Anbā* Tūmā in the One Will.... [After he had read the letter], *Anbā* Tūmā stood in prayer and supplication to the mercy of the Lord Christ, beseeching His help to prove the truth of the Holy Faith. Then a heavenly wisdom came to him, and he began to refute the letter of *Anbā* Yūḥannā word by word, disproving the Two Wills and establishing the One Will. . . (3).

This introduction clearly shows that Tūmā of Kafarṭāb (al-Kafarṭābī), the Maronite archbishop of Aleppo towards the end of the eleventh century, was a Monothelite who debated his belief in the One Will with the Greek patriarch of Antioch. Further on,

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(1) This work is in Arabic, and it was published from MS Par. syr. 203 in *al-Manāra*, VII (1936), p. 347 *et seq.*, by Philip as-Samarānī.

(2) *Anbā* is an old title of reverence given to high church officials in the Eastern churches; and it survives today in the Coptic church.

(3) TŪMĀ AL-KAFARṬĀBĪ, *Al-maqālāt al-'ashr*, p. 347-348.

it relates the visit of Tūmā to Lebanon (1104-1109 — his visit was prolonged because of the Crusader siege of Tripoli at the time), where the Maronite priest of Farsha' (1) requested him to rewrite his defence of the Monothelitic faith, the original of which had been destroyed by the angry Greek patriarch (2).

Ibn al-Qilā'ī was a dauntless defender of the original orthodoxy of the Maronites, and the evidence that a Maronite archbishop who was also a Monothelite had lived and written in the early twelfth century embarrassed his position. In a marginal comment on a copy of *al-Maqālāt al-'ashr* (3), he wrote:

> This Tūmā was no Maronite, nor did the Maronites have an archbishop in the diocese of Aleppo. He was, rather, an Easterner (4) from Ḥārān who grew up in Mārdīn (5). The Jacobites banished him; so he came to Mount Lebanon and admitted belief in the Two Natures, so as to be accepted by the Maronites. Once he was [accepted], he began to teach that in the Lord Christ there was not Two Wills, but One Will; and some, unaware of his errors, accepted his teaching.

He also wrote in *Tabkīt* . . . :

> Then came Tūmā from Ḥārān,
> [And] from his story the facts become clear:
> [Although] he was archbishop in the diocese of Aleppo,
> His was not an orthodox see (6).
> When you told me that he came from Mārdīn
> You increased my interest in him:
> Mārdīn is the devils' own home —
> Nestorius and Jacob dwell there.
> You testified that he came [to teach] heresy
> When you said that he came to Mount Lebanon;

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(1) I have not been able to locate this village.

(2) *Ibid.*, p. 350. For further reference on al-Kafarṭābī, see G. Graf, *op.cit.*, II, p. 98-100.

(3) Quoted by Duwayhī in *TTM*, p. 339.

(4) *Mashriqī*, probably meaning Jacobite.

(5) Ḥārān (Ḥarrān) and Mārdīn are two towns in Mesopotamia.

(6) Sim'ānī (Simonian), referring to Simon Peter (St. Peter), the alleged founder of the see of Rome and the see of Antioch; hence, orthodox.

And Mārūn, then simple and untaught,
Lent an ear to the Jacobite (1).

Did Ibn al-Qilā'ī have any basis for his assertion that Tūmā al-Kafarṭābī was no Maronite, and that he was a Jacobite agent in Lebanon? Probably not. In Mount Lebanon, during his day, no one was qualified to question Ibn al-Qilā'ī's judgement (which was also accepted without question two centuries later by no less a scholar than Duwayhī) (2); and it was not necessary for him to provide evidence for all his statements. When evidence was available he did not hesitate to point it out (as will be seen later), but in the above passages no reference to a source other than *al-Maqālāt al-'ashr* is made; and it is not clear how Ibn al-Qilā'ī concluded that Tūmā was born in Ḥarrān and grew up in Mārdīn.

In his letter to Patriarch Sham'ūn, Ibn al-Qilā'ī wrote (as evidence of the unbroken orthodoxy of the Maronites) that the Maronite patriarch Yūsuf al-Jirjisī received the crown and staff from Rome after Gaudefroy de Bouillon had taken Jerusalem from the Moslems. The text is not clear:

Before... with king Gaufrado who saved Jerusalem from the hands of the Moslems and with envoys Patriarch Yūsuf al-Jirjisī to Rome and received the crown and the staff (3).

Did the patriarch go to Rome in person, or did he send his envoys there with those of the victorious Gaudefroy? Duwayhī, who quoted the passage in an edited form and fixed the date 1100 to the event (4), favoured the second interpretation; but it is certain that, contrary to what he seems to have believed, no letters exchanged between Pope Paschall II (1099-1118) and the Maronite patriarch were found at the time of Ibn al-Qilā'ī to support or clarify this

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(1) Duwayhī, *TTM*, p. 339. This passage, from the lost sections of *Tabkīt...*, is only available as quoted by Duwayhī.

(2) See below, p. 139-141.

(3) *Sham'ūn*, p. 103-104. The lack of verb following "al-Jirjisī" is in the Arabic original.

(4) Duwayhī, *TTM*, p. 355.

incident (1). Duwayhī also added that the patriarchal seat of Yūsuf al-Jirjisī was the village of Yānūḥ (2), in Jibbat al-Munayṭra; but, like Ibn al-Qilā'ī, he did not mention his source.

In the same letter to Patriarch Sham'ūn, Ibn Qilā'ī related a second contact between a Pope and a Maronite patriarch:

And before... [your oath of allegiance to Rome was witnessed] by Cardinal Gulielmo, the legate of the Pope of Rome to your people, with whom the heads of your clergy and your learned men met in Tripoli; and your patriarch [at that time] was called Gregorius of Ḥālāt. There they affixed their signatures, the great and the small, swearing that they would obey the Pope of Rome and be steadfast in his faith (4).

No other source seems to mention a papal envoy to the Maronites called Gulielmo. Duwayhī repeated the story from Ibn al-Qilā'ī, giving it the date 1131 (during the first year of the pontificate of Innocent II, 1130-1143) (5); and the *mukhtaṣar*, likewise, associated Gregorius of Ḥālāt (al-Ḥālātī) with Innocent II (6). The papacy may have tried to bring the Maronite church under its control at the time of Innocent II, and some relationship may have been established between the Maronite patriarchate and Rome (like the case of the Armenian church in Jerusalem at the time). In 1139 (and not 1131), Innocent II sent Albericus, Cardinal-Bishop of Ostia, "to investigate the trouble which had arisen in the church of Antioch between the Lord Patriarch and his canons (7);"

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(1) Ibn al-Qilā'ī (*Sham'ūn*, p. 101) clearly stated that papal correspondence dating from 282 years was still preserved in Qannūbīn in 1494. This would make 1212 (during the pontificate of Innocent III and the patriarchate of Irmiyā al-'Amshītī, see below, p. 55) the date of the earliest letter. A letter from Innocent III to Irmiyā, dated 1213, is mentioned by 'Anaysī (*Bullarium Maronitarum*, p. 1).

(2) Duwayhī, *SB*, p. 309.

(3) Gregorius al-Ḥālātī (1130-1141); see above, p. 37 fn. 3. Ḥālāt is a village near the coast, not far south of Jubayl.

(4) *Sham'ūn*, p. 102.

(5) Duwayhī, *TTM*, p. 355-356; *TA*, p. 38-39; *SB*, p. 310.

(6) MS *mukhtaṣar*, f. 15v; *mukhtaṣar*, p. 14-15.

(7) William of Tyre, *A history of deeds done beyond the sea* (translated by E. A. Babcock, New York, 1942), II, p. 110.

and the following year, while in Jerusalem, Albericus received the submission to Rome of the Armenian catholicos (1). It is possible that he also received the submission of the Maronites, although no document is available to prove that; and it was, perhaps, this Albericus whom Ibn al-Qilā'ī mistakenly referred to as Gulielmo (possibly confusing him with the Latin patriarch of Jerusalem at the time, who was so called) (2).

The stories of *Muqaddam* Sim'ān and *Malik* Kisrā, found in the third and fourth sections of the *Madīḥa* . . . (3), illustrate the help which the Crusaders received from Maronite chieftains; but their narrative is confused. Most probably, both chieftains belonged to the twelfth century; but Ibn al-Qilā'ī introduced the former,

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(1) Albericus, Cardinal-Bishop of Ostia (d. 1148), a Benedictine monk, was born in Beauvais (France) in 1080. He was made Cardinal-Bishop of Ostia by Innocent II in 1138. In 1139 he was appointed to examine the conduct of Rodolph, patriarch of Antioch. At a council held in Antioch on November 30, 1139, Rodolph was deposed and cast in prison. Albericus then went to Jerusalem and presided over a council held there on Easter Tuesday, 1140, in which the Armenian Catholicos took part. Various points of difference between the Armenian Church and the Roman Catholic Church were discussed, and the Catholicos promised to alter the doctrine of his church so as to conform with Roman doctrine. Albericus died at Verdun in 1148. See N. J. O'Malia, "Alberic of Ostia", in *The Catholic encyclopedia* (London, 1913), I, p. 159. Also "Alberico, O.S.B., cardinale-vescovo di Ostia", in *Enciclopedia ecclesiastica* (Milano, 1942), I, p. 94; "Alberico, vescovo di Ostia", in *Enciclopedia italiana* (1929), II, p. 164; "Alberic, cardinal-évêque de Ostia", in *Dictionnaire de l'histoire et géographie ecclésiastiques*, I, p. 1407-1408. For the councils of Antioch (1139) and Jerusalem (1140), see Charles-Joseph Hefele, *Histoire des Conciles d'après les documents originaux* (traduite et augmentée par Dom. H. Leclercq, Paris, 1912), V, p. 743-746. The Maronites may have come into contact with Albericus in Jerusalem, since there were Maronites in that city. If the meeting was in Tripoli, as Ibn al-Qilā'ī says, then the Maronites must have met Albericus while he was on his way to Antioch. However, there is no direct evidence to either possibility.

(2) The patriarch of Jerusalem at the time was Guillaume I of Malines (1130-1145). See L. de Mas Latrie, "Les patriarches latins de Jérusalem", in *Revue de l'Orient latin* (hence ROL), I (1893, p. 16-41), p. 18.

(3) *Madīḥa*..., p. 15-16, 18-19.

Muqaddam Sim'ān, as the nephew (sister's son) of the unfortunate emir of Baskintā with whose misadventure the *Madīḥa* . . . opens. After his uncle's death (so the narrative proceeds), Sim'ān beat the Moslems at al-Murūj (a village not far from Baskintā); and he continued to engage with them during the 30 years that followed. In the end, he was forced to retreat northwards from Anṭilyās (north of Beirut) and took his position at the narrow coastal pass of Nahr al-Kalb. When the Moslems followed him there, a fierce battle was fought, and it was won by Sim'ān. After the victory, the *muqaddam* paid a visit to the ruler (*malik*) of Jubayl, and he was joined on his way there by the Maronite patriarch (who, Ibn al-Qilā'ī added, came from Ḥālāt, near Jubayl). The *malik* of Jubayl received them both with enthusiasm, and summoned 40 bishops "from ad-Durayb to Bilād ash-Shūf" (1) to anoint Sim'ān *malik* of al-Khārija — the district between Nahr al-Kalb and Nahr Ibrāhīm (the Adonis river) which was later named Kisrawān. Sim'ān was dismissed with many presents; and he continued to fight the Moslems until he died at Baskintā.

Shihābī assigned the wars of *Muqaddam* Sim'ān with the Moslems to the ninth century, saying that the battle of Nahr al-Kalb was fought in 258 A.H. (871 A.D.) (2). His chronology for these events cannot be taken seriously. Firstly, he recognized Sim'ān as the nephew of Ilyās who (according to Shihābī himself) had been killed 119 years earlier (see above). Secondly, he explained that *Malik* Kisrā, the brother of Ilyās and the uncle and successor of Sim'ān, travelled to Constantinople during the reign of Justinian II (who came to the throne in 685 A.D.)! It is far more likely that Sim'ān (who was recognized *malik* of al-Khārija and provided with

(1) Ad-Durayb is a village in northern Lebanon, east of Tripoli. The Shūf is the province in central Lebanon which is inhabited mainly by Druzes. The name "Shūf" was, at one time, applied to the part of Mount Lebanon south of the Ḍahr al-Baydar pass. The expression "from ad-Durayb to Bilād ash-Shūf" denotes the whole of northern Mount Lebanon, which is Maronite.

(2) Shihabī, *op. cit.*, p. 201.

money, horses, camels, and men by the undoubtedly Christian ruler of Jubayl) (1) was one of the Maronite auxiliaries to the Franks, and a native vassal to the lords (*seigneurs*) of Jubayl. Considering that Jubayl, the southernmost dependency of ʿAmmārid Tripoli at the time of the First Crusade, was taken by Raymond of Saint Gilles on April 28, 1104 (2), the wars of *Muqaddam* Simʿān (which lasted for 30 years, according to Ibn al-Qilāʿī) must belong to the period which followed. The *mukhtaṣar* correctly suggests that the patriarch "from Ḥālāt" was Gregorius al-Ḥālātī (1139-1141), a contemporary of Innocent II (3) and the only Maronite patriarch known to have come from Ḥālāt. On the other hand, it mistakenly calls the lord of Jubayl Yūsuf (Joseph) (4). There was no Crusader ruler of Jubayl by that name; and if *Muqaddam* Simʿān was contemporary to Gregorius al-Ḥālātī, then the lord of Jubayl in question must have been either Hughe I (1127 - c.1135) or Guillaume II (1139 - 1159) (5). Nahr al-Kalb, where the *muqaddam* won his decisive victory, was at the time (c.1132) the southernmost frontier of the County of Tripoli (6). It was a vulnerable point, and the battle fought there against Moslem raiders and attributed to Simʿān is an event likely to have taken place, although there seems to be no mention of it elsewhere.

The Armenian chronicler Gregory the Priest may have been referring to *Muqaddam* Simʿān in the following passage, dealing with the events of the years 1140-1141:

A warrior belonging to the nation of the brigands (7) called Simon, who

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(1) *Madīḥa...*, p. 16.

(2) René GROUSSET, *Histoire des Croisades et du Royaume franc de Jérusalem* (Paris, 1936), I, p. 141, 240.

(3) *Mukhtaṣar...*, p. 14-15.

(4) *Ibid.*, p. 14.

(5) See tables back of R. GROUSSET, *op. cit.*, III.

(6) *Ibid.*, I, p. 367.

(7) E. Dulaurier read the original Armenian word to mean assassin or brigand. Actually, the word found in the Armenian text is written wrongly and has no meaning in the form in which it stands. See E. Dulaurier's note 2,

bore a grudge against the Count of Edessa (1), took Ain-Tab (2) from him by surprise. He kept this place in his possession for one year, and then gave it back to him with the intercession of the Prince of Antioch (3).

E. Dulaurier, who edited the chronicle of Gregory the Priest and translated it into French, suggested that the "nation of brigands" to which Simon (Arabic: Sim'ān) belonged was no other than the Mardaite community of Lebanon. Michael the Syrian, he added, also called those Mardaites "brigands" while relating their advent to Lebanon. If this is true, he concluded, then there were Maronites in the Latin army in Syria, and Simon was one of them (4). Dulaurier does not appear to have known of Ibn al-Qilā'ī's *Muqaddam* Sim'ān who, apart from bearing the same name as Gregory's warrior, was also his contemporary, and likewise a soldier of note. Could they not have been the same person?

In the *Madīḥa* . . . , the story of *Muqaddam* Sim'ān is followed by that of his uncle and successor *Malik* Kisrā, whose "sword was a cross on the battlefield", and whose armour also bore the sign of the cross (5). This Kisrā went to Constantinople (Isṭanbūl) and swore allegiance to the Byzantine emperor, who placed a sword over his head and consecrated him *malik* of Mount Lebanon, with power to appoint governors in the various districts (6). The Lebanese chieftain left Constantinople with presents from the

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on p. 155 of Grégoire le Prêtre Continuateur de Matthieu d'Édesse, *Chronique* (*Recueil des historiens des Croisades, Historiens arméniens*, I, Paris 1896, p. 152-202).

(1) Joscelin II (1131-1146). See R. Grousset, *op. cit.*, II, p. 6-9, 883-886.

(2) Aintab on the southeastern frontier of Asia Minor, was an important fortified town in the Middle Ages.

(3) Raymond de Poitiers (1136-1149), first husband of Constance, daughter of Bohemond II. See tables back of R. Grousset, *op. cit.*, III.

(4) Note by E. Dulaurier, in Grégoire le Prêtre, *op. cit.*, p. 155, fn. 2.

(5) In his edition of the *Madīḥa*... (p. 18, fn.5), Būlus Qara'lī notes that the Crusaders carried swords with hilts in the form of a cross, and (fn.6) that they wore crosses on their armour. Thus, he concludes, Kisrā was a Crusader knight.

(6) *Madīḥa*..., p. 18-19.

emperor (princely apparel and a coat of armour); and, when he arrived at the harbour of Ṭabarjā (south of Jubayl), he was received by his men with great joy. The district of al-Khārija was renamed Kisrawān after his name, in honour of his return.

At that time (Ibn al-Qilā'ī continued) there was a certain Kāmil, *muqaddam* of Liḥfid, who used to cross the mountains and raid the territory of Baalbek in the northern Biqā'. Having heard of his exploits, Kisrā sent word to inquire whether he would be willing to enter his service as a knight; but Kāmil refused, explaining that he was already bound in allegiance to the lord of Jubayl:

> He received the envoys well,
> Invited them into his house,
> And explained to them the secret rules
> Which [control] the behaviour of knights:
> "I am the knight of the *malik* of Jubayl,
> "And it was he who taught me to ride the horse.
> "Therefore, I fear his wrath
> "Should he hear that I [serve another lord]!" (1)

Kisrā was not discouraged. He tried again to form an alliance with Kāmil, and asked for the hand of Kāmil's daughter in marriage to his son. Kāmil favoured the proposal, but he had to secure the permission of the lord of Jubayl before consenting to the marriage. It was in those days, Ibn al-Qilā'ī added, that *Muqaddam* Mas'ūd of Ḥbālīn (near Jubayl) built the church of St. Stephen (Mār Isṭifān) in the neighbouring village of Ghirfīn (2).

The story of Kisrā and Kāmil illustrates the relations between the Lebanese chieftains and the Franks during the Crusader period. It is futile to try to determine whether or not Kisrā was the maternal uncle of Sim'ān; but he seems to have definitely belonged to the Crusader period. He was an ally, but not a vassal, to the Franks, for the region over which he held chieftainship did not form part of the County of Tripoli or the Kingdom of Jerusalem. Like the

(1) *Ibid.*, p. 19.
(2) *Ibid.*

Crusader knights, he carried a cruciform sword and wore armour with the cross. His trip to Constantinople also points to the Crusader period. He could have accompanied some count of Tripoli or other Crusader dignitary on a visit there, and received the honours which the Byzantine emperors normally bestowed on their outlandish guests. Kāmil's was a different case. He was a local chieftain whose hometown fell within the County of Tripoli. He had been admitted to the ranks of knighthood by the lord of Jubayl, and was bound to his lord by homage and fealty. Therefore, he had to secure the consent of his lord to the marriage of his daughter.

Ibn al-Qilā'ī was not accurate in relating events of the period before 1215. He gave neither dates nor sources; and he seems to have repeated legends and popular traditions without trying to verify them. The visit to Rome of the Maronite patriarch Irmiyā al-'Amshītī (Jeremiah of 'Amshīt) is the earliest event for which he assigned a date (1215) and mentioned sources; but this event was confused with the visit to Rome of another Irmiyā in 1283 (1), and Ibn al-Qilā'ī entirely missed its real causes and significance.

The story of Patriarch Irmiyā and his visit to Rome in 1215 is introduced with an account of the pillage of Kisrawān by Moslem (Mamluk) troops in 1305 (2). This misfortune, according to Ibn al-Qilā'ī, was an issue of divine wrath brought about by the fall into heresy of two Maronite monks (one from Yānūḥ and the other from Dayr Nbūḥ) (3) and of a Maronite patriarch, Lūqā (Luke) of Bnahrān (4). The heresy divided the Maronite community and made it possible for the Moslems to invade and ravage Kisrawān.

To forestall further misfortune, Patriarch Irmiyā al-'Amshītī travelled to Rome, at the suggestion and expense of the *malik* of

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(1) See below, p. 59 *et seq.*

(2) *Madīḥa...*, p. 21-25. See below, p. 72 *et seq.* The expedition of 1305 was not primarily directed gainst the Maronites but against the heterodox Moslems and the Druzes of Kisrawān and the Jird.

(3) Dayr Nbūḥ is a village in Jibbat Bsharrī.

(4) See below, p. 63. Bnahrān is also a village in Jibbat Bsharrī.

Jubayl, to procure papal indulgence and blessing (1). He entrusted affairs to Tādrus (Theodore), the bishop of Kafarfū (in Jibbat Bsharrī), and left Lebanon, dressed as a pauper and accompanied by a deacon from Hābīl (near Batrūn). When Irmiyā arrived in Rome and appeared in the papal palace, he was recognized by former legates in Syria and presented to the Pope (Innocent III, 1198-1216), who wept at his seemingly wretched condition. Irmiyā, thereupon, explained the purpose of his visit:

> [I have come] to receive blessings at your feet,
> To offer submission and to kneel before you.
> My ambition is to live and die in your presence,
> Disputing nothing with my human reason.
> My people offer submission to you,
> And at your feet they render obedience.
> They attend to whatever you command
> In doctrine or in belief.
> I was sent to visit your Holiness, and here am I
> Placing myself where your horse lays its hoof.
> You, who have called yourself Vicar of Christ,
> Show me bounty and grace!
> Bear no grudge [against our error], O Successor of Peter!
> Do not send away the man who kneels before you!
> Do not repel the man who approaches your Holiness,
> Nor condemn the penitent to the fires [of hell] (2)!

The Pope was impressed by Irmiyā's speech, and he answered his request. When, five years and six months after his arrival in Rome, the patriarch decided to return to Lebanon, the Pope sent with him Cardinal Gulielmo (!), who carried with him the papal seal and was entrusted with the preparation of a statement of Maronite submission to Rome. The patriarch and the cardinal, said Ibn al-Qilā'ī, left Rome on January 3, 1215 (3), and arrived in Tripoli in March (4). The church bells announced their arrival and summoned the Maronite notables to Tripoli to meet them and

(1) Irmiyā's voyage is related in *Madīḥa...*, p. 25-28.
(2) *Ibid.*, p. 26-27.
(3) *Ibid.*, p. 27.
(4) *Ibid.*, p. 28.

receive the papal blessings. The statement of submission was presented to those notables, who signed it after taking an oath to remain faithful to the Roman Church and to keep away from heresy. Ibn al-Qilā'ī counted 270 signatures on the statement, adding that it was still available in his day (1). Patriarch Irmiyā, he concluded, died in 1230 and was buried in Mayfūq (2).

The visit of Patriarch Irmiyā al-'Amshītī to Rome in 1215 is a fact. He was summoned there by Innocent III to attend the fourth Lateran Council which began on November 11, 1215 (3). On April 19, 1213, Innocent III issued an encyclical summoning the Church leaders of the East and the West to "repair to the Council in two and a half years, the first of November, 1215," and a copy of this letter was addressed to *Patriarcam Maronitarum Hieremiam* (4). Crusader historians like Jaques de Vitry (5) and Oliver of Paderborn (6) mentioned the presence of the Maronite patriarch at the Council; and he was listed in a register of the patriarchs, archbishops, and bishops who attended as *Patriarcha seu Primas Maronitarum* (7).

On January 3, 1215 (1216 by the Gregorian calendar) (8), while Irmiyā was still in Rome, Innocent III addressed to him a bull granting several privileges (9). Ibn al-Qilā'ī made a

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(1) See above, p. 34.

(2) *Madīḥa...*, p. 28. Mayfūq is in the Batrūn district.

(3) C.-J. Hefele, *op. cit.*, V, p. 1727. Also Horace K. Mann, *The lives of the Popes in the Middle Ages*, XII (*Innocent III, 1198-1216*, vol. II, London 1915), p. 69-70.

(4) T. Anaissi, *Bullarium Maronitarum*, p. 1.

(5) Jaques de Vitry, *History of Jerusalem* (translated by Aubrey Stewart, Library of the Palestine Pilgrims Text Society, vol. XI, London 1897), p. 81.

(6) Oliver of Paderborn, *Capture of Damietta* (translated by J. J. Gavigan, Philadelphia, 1948), p. 78.

(7) C.-J. Hefele, *op. cit.*, V, p. 1316.

(8) In the Middle Ages, before the introduction of the Gregorian calendar in 1582, New Year's Day started generally on March 25.

(9) T. Anaissi, *op. cit.*, p. 2-6.

highly inaccurate Arabic translation of the bull (1) and mistook it for the encyclical inviting the patriarch to the Council, although he carefully recorded its date (which, in the *Madīḥa* . . . , he also gave for Irmiyā's departure from Rome) (2). This date clearly indicates the circumstances in which this bull was issued, and so do its contents:

> As for you, O brother patriarch who, because of your great devotion, have personally visited your mother the Holy Catholic Church and attended the General Council, we wish to grant you and your people who have newly renewed their allegiance to the Roman Church special grace . . . (3).

Ibn al-Qilā'ī gave an incorrect rendering of this passage:

> We desire you, O brother patriarch, for the great love of your mother the Holy Catholic Church, to visit her in person and to attend the General Council and receive special grace for your people who have newly returned to the obedience of the Church of Rome . . . (4).

Ibn al-Qilā'ī confirmed this mistake in a note which he appended to the Arabic translation of the bull: Irmiyā, he said, having received the bull, travelled to Rome to attend the Council and returned with another letter from the Pope which had since been lost (5). In the *Madīḥa* . . . , however, Ibn al-Qilā'ī suggested different dates: Irmiyā stayed in Rome for five years and six months

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(1) Ibn al-Qilā'ī, MS *Mārūn aṭ-ṭūbānī*, f. 26v-29v.

(2) See above, p. 54.

(3) T. Anaissi, *op. cit.*, p. 4. Translation from Latin mine.

(4) Ibn al-Qilā'ī, MS *Mārūn aṭ-ṭūbānī*, f. 28 v. Translation from Arabic mine.

(5) The note reads as follows: "Patriarch Irmiyā received this letter and went to the city of Rome [where] he gave an account of all what his people believed in. He attended a Council, and brought back with him a letter with new graces. We did not find this letter; but Pope Alexander [IV] mentioned it when, 41 years later, he wrote to inquire about the condition of the Maronites..." MS *Mārūn aṭ-ṭūbānī*, f.29v. The letter of Alexander IV (see T. Anaissi, *op. cit.*, p. 9-13) is dated February 14, 1256. Since it was written 41 years after the bull which Innocent had addressed to Irmiyā on his departure from Rome, the date of the latter bull must be 1215. This means that Ibn al-Qilā'ī, in his note, was deploring the loss of a document which he had barely finished translating.

and left on January 3, 1215 (1216). Accordingly, he must have arrived there in July 1210 — nearly three years before the actual summons to the Council was sent out! It is possible that Irmiyā left Rome on January 3, 1216, or shortly afterwards, especially if he arrived in Tripoli in March (according to the *Madīḥa. . .*) (1). He may have attended the opening sessions of the Lateran Council, concluded his business with the Pope, received the bull of "special grace", and departed while the Council was still in session.

The bull which Irmiyā returned with from Rome is a document of basic importance to the history of the Maronites, and it also throws light on the circumstances of the patriarch's visit to Rome. It opens with expressions of joy because the Maronites had returned to Rome after having been "like wandering sheep, not properly understanding that the Catholic Church was the one spouse of Christ, . . . that Christ was the true shepherd, and, after Him and through Him, that Peter was his Apostle and Vicar... whose faith, and that of his successors, the Roman pontiffs, cannot fail..." (2). The bull then relates the mission to the Maronites of Peter of Capua, Cardinal-Priest of the church of St. Marcellus (3). This Peter had come to Lebanon in 1203 (4). The Maronite clergymen and notables had met him at Tripoli, where they swore allegiance to Rome in his presence (5). The bull mentions the leading clergymen present on the occasion: "Yūsuf, archbishop of Mār Asyā, Tādrus, bishop of Kafarfū (6), and a great number

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(1) See above, p. 54.

(2) T. Anaissī, *op. cit.*, p. 2. The English translation is from H. K. Mann, *op. cit.*, XII, p. 70.

(3) Peter of Capua (1150-1209), priest of the church of St. Marcellus, was sent by Innocent III in 1203, with the fourth Crusade (1202-1204), as his legate to the East. The meeting in Tripoli probably took place in that year. Ṭ. 'Anaysī, *Silsila...*, p. 21. F. Suriano, *op. cit.*, p. 68-69, called him Peter of Malphi, and gave the same story.

(4) See previous footnote, and below, p. 59.

(5) T. Anaissi, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

(6) "Capharphio" in the Latin original. Ibn al-Qilā'ī confused this Bishop Tādrus with another Tādrus who was living in 1282. See below, p. 61.

of clergymen and laymen who owe [the patriarch] obedience" (1), all of whom swore allegiance to Rome of their own free will in the presence of the people (the Franks) of Tripoli and a gathering of (Latin) clergymen. After this, the bull lists the required corrections in Maronite belief and ritual — corrections which, it explains, had already been made by Cardinal Peter:

> That you believe without doubt what the Roman Church holds, which is: that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Son as it proceeds from the Father . . .; that you use this manner in baptism, which is: that the invocation of the Trinity is made once in the three immersions; that you shall receive the sacrament of confirmation from bishops only; that only oil and balsam shall go into the preparation of the Chrism; that every one of you shall confess his sins to his own priest at least once every year, and that you shall receive the sacrament of the Eucharist with devotion at least three times a year; that you shall believe that in Christ there are two wills, one divine and one human; that the chalices you use in the Mass shall not be of glass, wood, or brass, but of tin, silver, or gold; and you shall have bells to distinguish the hours and to call the people to church (2).

The bull then confirms Patriarch Irmiyā in his see in Yānūḥ, and also the archbishops of Mār Asyā and of Bsharrī and the bishops of al-Munayṭra, of Rash'īn, of Kafarfū, and of 'Arqā. A list of the feasts which the Maronite church was to celebrate follows. The last part of the bull is significant:

> We also decree according to the precepts of the holy law that whosoever lays his hand on a Maronite cleric in daring and violence shall fall under the pains of excommunication and, as an excommunicate, shall be avoided by everybody until he pays his due and so receives the benefit of absolution from the authority of the Apostolic See. As for you, O brother patriarch who, because of your great devotion, have personally visited your mother the Holy Catholic Church and attended the General Council, we wish to grant you and your people who have recently renewed their allegiance to the Roman Church special grace. We grant you the Apostolic authority to absolve those Maronites who have fallen under the above sentence, having raised hands in daring against the

(1) T. Anaissi, *op. cit.*, p. 3.
(2) *Ibid.*

clerics, except [in cases where] there had been mutilation of limbs or effusion of blood, or the laying of hands in violence on a bishop or abbot. . . (1).

This passage reveals an important fact: the reunion of the Maronites with Rome arranged by Cardinal Peter (not Gulielmo, as Ibn al-Qilā'ī called him) had been preceded by a religious quarrel. Maronite rebels who, apparently, disapproved of the principle of union with Rome had attacked a number of their clergy, including bishops and abbots, and had killed and mutilated some. These rebels may have been the followers of the heretical monks of Yānūḥ and of Dayr Nbūḥ, as the *Madīḥa* . . . suggests. It also appears from the bull that the meeting in Tripoli at which the Maronites accepted the reunion did not take place in March 1215 (1216), on the return of the patriarch from Rome, as Ibn al-Qilā'ī said, but several years earlier, probably in 1203, since Cardinal Peter was sent as legate to the East at the time of the Fourth Crusade (1202-1204) (2).

It appears from this analysis that much of what Ibn al-Qilā'ī mentioned in his story of Irmiyā al-'Amshītī is true. The religious division among the Maronites, the patriarch's visit to Rome, and the meeting with the papal legate at Tripoli (3) are attested facts. The narrative, however, is confused, and not only so in its chronology: Irmiyā's visit to Rome did not follow the Mamluk expedition against Kisrawān, which took place in 1305 (4) ; and he was not sent there by the lord of Jubayl. What caused this confusion? Here Būlus Qara'lī gave an adequate explanation. Ibn al-Qilā'ī, he said, was confusing between two Maronite patriarchs called Irmiyā, both of whom went to Rome (5). The first was Irmiyā al-'Amshītī,

(1) *Ibid.*, p. 4.

(2) See above, p. 57, fn. 3.

(3) It is possible that Irmiyā was accompanied on his return from Rome by a Cardinal Gulielmo; but I have found no evidence to that outside the *Madīḥa*... In *Sham'ūn* (p. 105-106) Ibn al-Qilā'ī gave the name Gulielmo only to the legate (Albericus of Ostia?) who came into contact with the Maronites at the time of Gregorius al-Ḥālātī in c. 1140 (*ibid.*, p. 102).

(4) See below, p. 72 *et seq.*

(5) Būlus Qara'lī, *Ḥurūb*..., p. 33-40.

and the second Irmiyā ad-Dimilṣāwī (1282-1297) (1) who went to Rome in 1283. A note written by the latter was found by Ṭūbiyyā al-'Anaysī on a Syriac Gospel in the Medici library, in Florence:

In the year 1590 of the Greeks [1279 A.D.], on February 9, I, the worthless Irmiyā, came from the blessed village of Dimilṣā to the monastery of our Lady in Mayfūq . . . to our lord . . . the patriarch of the Maronites; and he ordained me with his holy hands and made me archbishop of the holy monastery of Kaftūn (2). . . . Four years later, the lord of Jubayl (3) summoned me along with the bishops, the heads of the churches, and the clergymen, and they chose me by lot; and they instated me patriarch in the holy monastery of Ḥālāt. Then they sent me to the great city of Rome and I left our brother the archbishop Tādrus to direct the flock and manage its affairs (4).

Ṭūbiyyā al-'Anaysī referred also to a document connected with the attempt of Guy II of Jubayl to wrest Tripoli from its ruler, Count Bohemond VII (5), in which Irmiyā ad-Dimilṣāwī is mentioned as a witness:

On February 26, 1282 (1283) (6), in the fortress of Nephin [Anfa] which is near Tripoli, the Prince of Antioch, the Count of Tripoli, and the under-

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(1) Ṭ. 'Anaysī, *Silsila...*, p. 24-27. Qara'lī notes that Dimilṣā, the hometown of the second Irmiyā, is a farming village dependent on 'Amshīt, the hometown of the first Irmiyā; and he suggests that this added to Ibn al-Qilā'ī's confusion between the two patriarchs.

(2) The monastery of Kaftūn is mentioned in *Masālik al-abṣār...* as a beautifully situated monastery and a pleasant resort. The monastery had an orange grove and its oranges were sold in Tripoli. Ibn Faḍl-Allāh al-'Umarī, *Masālik al-abṣār fī mamālik al-amṣār* (Cairo, 1924), I, p. 335. The Maronite patriarch mentioned was Dāniyāl Buṭrus of Ḥadshīt (1278-1282). See Ṭ. 'Anaysī, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

(3) The *amīr* of Jubayl in the original Arabic.

(4) Ṭ. 'Anaysī, *op. cit.*, p. 24-25.

(5) It is unnecessary here to go into the details of the wars between Guy II and Bohemond VII. Guy II was captured in 1282 and put to death by Bohemond VII; and the following document was probably a court testimony brought against the lord of Jubayl. For further reference see R. Grousset, *op. cit.*, III, p. 685-691.

(6) According to the Gregorian calendar. See above, p. 55, fn. 8.

signed witnesses met and declared that Guy, lord of Jubayl, incited by the Master of the Templers William of Beaujeu (1), tried three times to occupy Tripoli with the purpose of wresting it from the Prince of Antioch (2).

It is clear from these two documents that a Maronite patriarch called Irmiyā, who was elected in 1282, was sent to Rome by Prince Bohemond VII of Antioch, Count of Tripoli (1275-1287) and lord of Jubayl (from 1282) (3), and that he left in charge of affairs during his absence a certain archbishop Tādrus — hence the confusion between the two Irmiyās and between this Tādrus and the archbishop Tādrus of Kafarfū. Another source of confusion which made Ibn al-Qilā'ī place the expedition against Kisrawān of 1305 before Irmiyā al-'Amshītī's visit to Rome was the fact that the visit of the second Irmiyā to Rome in 1283 (4) was preceded in the same year by a Mamluk attack on Jibbat Bsharrī (5). In the course of this attack al-Ḥadath, one of the principal towns of the district, was destroyed, and so were other towns and villages. Ibn al-Qilā'ī related this event elsewhere in the *Madīḥa* . . . , placing it in a wrong context:

> *Muqaddam* Būlus and Emir Mas'ūd,
> Whose likes in excellence never arose,
> Came out of al-Ḥadath in full armour
> And entered the battlefield like heroes.
> They routed the soldiers of Islam,
> And the news [of their victory] reached Damascus.
> They fought the Moslems for seven years,
> And their news reached the sultan.
> There came a man from Ibrīsāt (6)

(1) GROUSSET, *op. cit.*, III, p. 686 *et seq.*

(2) B. QARA'LĪ, *Ḥurūb...*, p. 35-36. He translated the passage into Arabic from T. ANAISSI, *Corpus documentorum maronitarum*, No. 28, p. 29, where it is given in Latin and French. Bohemond VII (1275-1287) was the titular prince of Antioch as well as the count of Tripoli.

(3) See the preceding footnote.

(4) The document quoted above must be dated 1283 by the Gregorian calendar. Irmiyā must have signed it shortly before he left for Rome.

(5) DUWAYHĪ, *TA*, p. 145-146. Also below, p. 136-137.

(6) Ibrīsāt (modern Brīsāt) is a village in Jibbat Bsharrī, near al-Ḥadath.

Who promised the Moslems (1) saying:
"I will give you possession of this village;
"Leave it to me and I will take it with ease!"
They gave him presents and promised him pay
And learnt from that man of wile.
He converted [the *muqaddam* of al-Ḥadath?] (2) to heresy
And the spirit of the devil became strong in him.
[The *muqaddam*] obeyed his heresy,
And his body was caught in the fire [of hell]:
He obeyed, and so did his neighbours
The men of the village and [its] women.
[The Moslems] entered [the village] with ease
And slaughtered [its people] like sheep.
Not a man, not a woman nor boy
Was left [alive]!
Al-Ḥadath has been destroyed since then:
It used to be [a town] of twenty-seven hundred
Which fought the Moslems for seven years,
And its news had reached the sultan (3)!

An anonymous biography of the Mamluk sultan Qalāwūn (1277-1290) relates the attack on al-Ḥadath under the year 1283:

The arrest of the patriarch of al-Ḥadath in the land of Tripoli. There happenedto be in the land of Tripoli a patriarch who became strong, swollen with pride, and rebellious. The ruler of Tripoli and all the Franks feared him. He won over the people of those mountains and the people of those valleys who had fallen in error; and his power grew until he was feared by every neighbour. He fortified himself in al-Ḥadath and held his nose high [with pride].... The governors (4) [of Syria] tried to get him several times but could not find him. Then the Turkomans sought him out in his place and managed to capture him; and they brought him back a miserable prisoner.... The Moslems were

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(1) *Ṭayyā*: a Syriac term used to denote the Arabs or (in this case) the Moslems.

(2) This and the next three lines are my interpretation of the vague original:

دخـــل لاشبينه في المقال   تمكن فيه روح الشيطان
وطاء لاشبينه في مقاله   والنار علقت في ابدانـــه

(3) *Madīḥa*..., p. 44.

(4) Arabic: *nuwwāb*, sing. *nā'ib*.

freed from him and were spared his wickedness; and his capture was a great conquest—greater than the conquest of a rampart or a fortress (1).

This passage also helps to reveal the identity of the patriarch Lūqā of Bnahrān who, according to Ibn al-Qilā'ī, had supported the monks of Yānūḥ and Dayr Nbūḥ in their heresy. While relating the attack on al-Ḥadath (2), Duwayhī said that in 1282, after the death in Mayfūq of the patriarch Dāniyāl al-Ḥadshītī (3), a man called Lūqā, who came from Bnahrān (in Jibbat Bsharrī), took over the patriarchal see by force. Duwayhī did not know of Irmiyā ad-Dimilṣāwī who had been raised to the patriarchal dignity in that same year, in the monastery of Ḥālāt, at the initiative of the Count of Tripoli. Apparently, Lūqā of Bnahrān was an anti-patriarch who represented the Maronites opposed to the union with Rome (hence he was feared by "the ruler of Tripoli and all the Franks") (4). Nothing is known about him after 1283. Presumably, he was put to death by the soldiers of Qalāwūn.

Thus, all the facts mentioned by Ibn al-Qilā'ī in connection with the visit of Irmiyā al-'Amshītī to Rome in 1215 are in themselves correct. The mistakes in chronology are due mainly to a confusion with the visit to Rome of another Patriarch Irmiyā in 1283.

After noting the death of Irmiyā al-'Amshītī in 1230, Ibn al-Qilā'ī referred to a Maronite patriarch from Shāmāt (Dāniyāl of Shāmāt, 1230-1234) who was forced to change his residence because of the troubles in his time:

> Jibbat al-Munayṭra broke away
> And did not remain with the *malik* [of Jubayl].
> It fell into heresy with the people of Liḥfid,

(1) I have translated this passage from a photostat of p. 94-95 of MS Bibliothèque Nationale 1704 (Paris) reproduced in *al-Manāra*, V (1934), p. 204. The manuscript biography is entitled *Tashrīf al-'uṣūr bi sīrat as-sulṭān al-Malik al-Manṣūr*. I have found no other mention of this event.

(2) Duwayhī, *SB*, p. 313.

(3) Ṭ. 'Anaysī, *Silsila...*, p. 24.

(4) See K. S. Salibi, *The Maronite church in the Middle Ages...*, p. 97-98.

And set up a *muqaddam* and an archbishop [of its own].
The patriarch [then] was from Shāmāt,
And he had taken orders in Wādī 'Almāt.
He had relations in Rāmāt
Who took him to live in Kfīfān (1).

It is not clear what the troubles in Jibbat al-Munayṭra were about. The patriarch Dāniyāl of Shāmāt, who originally stayed at Mayfūq, moved his residence first to the monastery of St. Cyprian (Mār Qibriyānūs) in Kfīfān, and then to the monastery of Mār Yūḥannā Mārūn in Kafarḥay (2), and in 1236 he was living in the monastery of St. Georges of Kafar (Mār Jirjis al-Kafar) in the Jubayl district (3).

Next follows the story of a sultan who endowed the monasteries of Jibbat Bsharrī, and the result of these endowments:

A valley on Nahr Qādīshā (4):
[There] a travelling sultan passed.
A monk asked him to [stay and] dine.
He marvelled at the life of the monks.
God helped him, and in due time
He returned to the throne, as [exiled] sultans [often do].
He sent funds to build [the monastery of] Qannūbīn (5)
In rememberance of the kindness of the monks.
That sultan was gracious:

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(1) *Madīḥa...*, p. 42-43. All four villages mentioned here are in the district of Jubayl. Kfīfān has an interesting old monastery named after St. Cyprian.

(2) Kafarḥay is a village in the province of Batrūn where Yūḥannā Mārūn, first patriarch of the Maronites, was supposedly buried.

(3) Ṭ. 'Anaysī, *Silsila...*, p. 22; Duwayhī, *SB*, p. 230.

(4) Nahr Qādīshā (Syriac: the holy) is the upper course of Nahr Abū 'Alī, which pours at Tripoli.

(5) From approximately the beginning of the fifteenth century to the nineteenth, the monastery of Qannūbīn, in the Qādīshā valley, was the seat of the Maronite patriarchs. It is said that it was originally built in the fourth century (Qannūbīn: Gr. *Koinobion*) during the reign of the emperor Theodosius; but it has been rebuilt several times since.

He issued a *firmān* (1) to the monks
That whoever chooses to live in the [Qādīshā] cliffs
Shall live at the sultan's expense (2).

These endowments attracted many people to the Qādīshā valley, among them a group of 40 men who took residence in al-Farādīs, near the village of Bān. These men "wore sack-cloth and monkish garments" (*al-misḥ wa'l-qūsāl*) and pretended to be ascetics, but they were actually wicked and immoral (3) men who attacked and killed Christians; and when the people of Jibbat Bsharrī found them out, the impostors were effectively dealt with in one night. Ibn al-Qilā'ī did not state whether they were killed or simply expelled from the country.

It was possibly the Mamluk sultan Barqūq (1382-1398) who endowed the monasteries of the Qādīshā valley. According to Duwayhī, this Barqūq passed through Bsharrī during the period which followed his temporary dethronement (1389-1390) and was there received by the abbot of Qannūbīn (4). As for the band of 40 impostors who came to live in al-Farādīs and who were later expelled from there, no historian other than Ibn al-Qilā'ī seems to have mentioned them. It seems that they were not Christians — Ibn al-Qilā'ī noted that "they never forgave a Christian" (5). They may have been heterodox Moslems from the neighbourhood of Jibbat Bsharrī (the northern Biqā', aḍ-Ḍinniyya, 'Akkār, or the Alouite mountains). The *mukhtaṣar* mentions that they came to the district in 1242 (6), which indicates (if the date is correct) that they may have been Assassins (7). In that case their coming

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(1) The term *firmān* (Persian for order, or decree) appears in many Mamluk chronicles, although its usage is usually associated with the Ottomans.

(2) *Madīḥa...*, p. 43.

(3) Ibn al-Qilā'ī says that "they established a place for women" (!)

(4) Duwayhī, *TA*, p. 190-191. See below, p. 147-148.

(5) *Madīḥa...*, p. 43.

(6) *Mukhtaṣar*, p. 41-42.

(7) The Assassins had become an accepted part of the Syrian political scene by the middle of the thirteenth century. Earlier in the century they had

to Jibbat Bsharrī would not have followed the endowment of the monasteries by Barqūq in 1390.

Ibn al-Qilā'ī next related the destruction of al-Ḥadath, which has already been discussed, and proceeded with an account of the appointment of a *muqaddam* in Jibbat Bsharrī to defend the district against "heresy and the Egyptian" (1). It appears from the context (in the *Madīḥa* . . .) that this *muqaddam* was appointed after the impostors had been expelled from the Qādīshā valley. The *mukhtaṣar* . . . gave the date 1250 (?) (2). Ibn al-Qilā'ī said that this *muqaddam* was given the title of *kāshif* (inspector) (3), and that he was also a *shidyāq* (subdeacon) with some spiritual authority (4).

This *muqaddam* of Bsharrī, who is referred to as *ash-Shidyāq al-Kāshif*, must have been the *shidyāq* Ya'qūb ibn Ayyūb who, according to Duwayhī, was appointed by Barqūq in c. 1390 (5). The fact that he bore the title of *kāshif*, a title used by the Mamluks for the governors of minor provinces (Bsharrī was a sub-province of the *niyāba* of Tripoli) (6), indicates that he belonged to the Mamluk period, and not to the Crusader period as the *mukhtaṣar*

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become tributary to the Knights Hospitallers. By 1274 their political power was destroyed by Baybars, who conquered their last independent outpost in Syria in July 1273. Bernard LEWIS, "The Ismā'īlites and the Assassins", in Kenneth M. SETTON (ed.), *A history of the Crusades*, I (Philadelphia, 1955), p. 128-131.

(1) *Madīḥa...*, p. 44.

(2) *Mukhtaṣar*, p. 42.

(3) The title *kāshif* (pl. *kushshāf*) was used by the Mamluk government to denote governors of provinces of the second order. See M. GAUDEFROY-DESMOMBYNES, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamelouks* (Paris, 1923), p. XXXVIII, and QALQASHANDĪ, *Ṣubḥ al-a'shā fī kitābat al-inshā* (Cairo, 1914), IV, p. 15. A *kāshif* was a military officer of the rank of *amīr ṭablakhāna*.

(4) *Madīḥa...*, p. 44-45.

(5) DUWAYHĪ, *TA*, p. 190. See below, p. 147-148.

(6) Jibbat Bsharrī, under the Mamluks, was a *wilāya* of the *mamlaka* of Tripoli. See M. GAUDEFROY-DESMOMBYNES, *La Syrie...*, p. 228. QALQASHANDĪ, *Ṣubḥ al-a'shā...*, IV, p. 148. 'UMARĪ, *at-ta'rīf bi'l-muṣṭalaḥ ash-sharīf*, p. 182.

suggests. The descendants of *Shidyāq* Ya'qūb ibn Ayyūb continued to be the *muqaddamīn* of Bsharrī until the sixteenth century, and *Muqaddam* 'Abd al-Mun'im Ayyūb was one of them (1). Ibn al-Qilā'ī added that *ash-Shidyāq al-Kāshif* held authority over the district from Ḥardīn to Ayṭū (the southernmost and northernmost points of Jibbat Bsharrī), and that no heresy spread in his days(2).

The section which follows in the *Madīḥa* . . . relates the fall of Tripoli to Qalāwūn in 1289 (3) — an event which Ibn al-Qilā'ī attributed indirectly to the fall into heresy of *Muqaddam* Sālim of Bsharrī (4), the son of *ash-Shidyāq al-Kāshif.* Ibn al-Qilā'ī gave no dates when he related the event as follows:

Muqaddam Sālim, he said, was not only rapacious and oppressive but also rash and indiscreet. His inordinate greed caused discontent in Jibbat Bsharrī, and the hasty manner in which he offered protection to undesirable strangers encouraged a group of Melchites from Ḥawrān to settle in the village of al-'Irba. Sālim himself was easily converted to the Jacobite heresy by an "agent from the East", and so fell under the pains of excommunication. Hearing of this, the Moslems were encouraged to attack Tripoli. Their troops advanced from Damascus and invested the city, which fell in February (5) after a six-month siege. Neither the excommunicated *Muqaddam* Sālim nor the timid *Malik* Yūḥannā (6) of Jubayl came to the rescue of Tripoli, which resisted the siege alone. Once Tripoli had fallen, the *Malik* of Jubayl tried to propitiate the Moslems by "serving them in the villages" and by granting

(1) See below, Appendix C.

(2) *Madīḥa...*, p. 45.

(3) *Ibid.*, p. 47-48.

(4) Ya'qūb ibn Ayyūb did not have a son called Sālim. I have not come across any mention of a *Muqaddam* Sālim elsewhere. He may have been *muqaddam* of Bsharrī during the last years of the Crusader period.

(5) Thus, without giving the year. See below, p. 68.

(6) Actually Peter Embriaco, the lord of Jubayl. See below, p. 69, fn. 1.

parts of his domain in *iqṭā'* (1) to their officers. When he had no more lands to bestow he prepared his ships, got the people of Jubayl and their animals on board, set fire to the city, and made his escape by night. The Moslems took Jubayl, only to find it empty and destroyed by fire. Ibn al-Qilā'ī repeated here a Maronite tradition connected with these events. While the siege of Tripoli was going on, he said, a priest from Mār Asyā came and prophesied to the Moslems that the city and its dependencies would fall to them in February. When the prophecy came true, the priest was honoured with gifts and made chief officer of the treasury (*dīwān 'alā'l-kīs*) (2).

Tripoli did not fall to Qalāwūn in February, as Ibn al-Qilā'ī believed, but on April 26 (3) or 27 (4), 1289. Besides, the siege of the city did not last six months. The start of the siege is dated March 25, 1289 by some Arabic sources, giving it a duration of just over one month (5). Other sources give the date variously as February 24, March 10, and March 17 (6). The siege would have lasted two months by the longest estimate.

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(1) An *iqṭā'* (pl. *iqṭā'āt*), in Islamic military feudalism, was a revenue fief given to a soldier (*jundī*) or an officer (*amīr*) in partial payment for military service. It was not hereditary as a rule, although it tended to be so in Lebanon. The term, as used here by Ibn al-Qilā'ī, need not be interpreted technically.

(2) Literally, "office (here officer) of the purse".

(3) R. Grousset, *op. cit.*, III, p. 744.

(4) Maqrīzī, *Kitāb as-sulūk li-ma'rifat duwal al-mulūk* (Cairo, 1939, hence *Sulūk...*), I, p. 747, and Ibn Taghrībirdī, *An-nujūm az-zāhira fī mulūk Miṣr wa'l-Qāhira* (Cairo, 1936, hece *Nujūm...*), VII, p. 312, gave the date of the fall of Tripoli as Tuesday, Rabī' II 4, 688 A.H. (April 27, 1289 A.D.).

(5) Maqrīzī (*Sulūk...*, I, p. 747) said that Qalāwūn left Damascus for the siege of Tripoli on Ṣafar 20, 688 A.H. (March 15, 1289A.D.), but did not give the date of the start of the siege. Ibn Taghrībirdī (*Nujūm...*, VII, p. 321) said that the siege began on Rabī' I 1 (March 25). The same date was given by Abū'l-Fidā (Abulfedae, *Annales Muslemici*, Hafniae 1794, V, p. 90). Ibn Ḥabīb, *Tadhkirat an-nabīh fī ayyām al-Manṣūr wa-banīh* (MS Brit. Mus. 7335), f.19v, said that the siege of Tripoli lasted for 33 days, which, considering that Tripoli fell on April 27, would give the date March 25 for the start of the siege.

(6) R. Grousset, *op. cit.*, III, p. 743.

There is a basis of truth in Ibn al-Qilā'ī's account of the fall of Jubayl. When Tripoli fell the other towns of the County were evacuated by the Franks and taken by Qalāwūn without fighting; but Peter Embriaco, lord of Jubayl (mistakenly called Yūḥannā by Ibn al-Qilā'ī) managed to keep his city for about another decade by entering into close vassalage with the sultan (1). This seems to be what Ibn al-Qilā'ī indicated when he said that the *malik* of Jubayl began "serving [the Moslems] in the villages".

It is interesting to note here that, apart from the Popes and their envoys, Ibn al-Qilā'ī drew no distinction between Franks and Maronites while relating the events of the Crusader period. Gaudefroy de Bouillon is the only Frankish layman whose name Ibn al-Qilā'ī gave in a distinctly European form (Gaufrado). The frequently mentioned counts of Tripoli and lords of Jubayl are never distinguished from the Maronite emirs and *muqaddamīn* as belonging to a different race or community ; and the *Madīḥa* . . . gives the impression that the Maronites at the time did not only have village and district chieftains but also kings (*mulūk*) in the coastal towns.

After relating the fall of Tripoli and Jubayl, Ibn al-Qilā'ī went on (in correct chronological order) to tell of the Mamluk expedition against Kisrawān which was organized in 1292 under Qalāwūn's son al-Ashraf Khalīl (1290-1294) and which was defeated by the Lebanese mountaineers (2). Ibn al-Qilā'ī considered the victory of the *muqaddamīn* at the time as a revenge for the fall of Tripoli, and not as a defeat inflicted on a special Moslem

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(1) *Ibid.*, III, p. 745; L. de Mas Latrie, *Histoire de Chypre*, I, p. 484; S. Runciman, *A history of the Crusades* (Cambridge, 1951-1955), III, p. 407. Possibly, Peter both entered into vassalage with the Mamluk sultan and bestowed fiefs on the Mamluk officers. It is not certain how long he kept his position as vassal of the Mamluk sultan. He was mentioned as a refugee in Cyprus in 1307. R. Grousset, *loc. cit.*; E. Rey, "Les seigneurs de Giblet", in *ROL*, III (1895), p. 407.

(2) *Madīḥa...*, p. 51-54.

expedition directed against Kisrawān. He gave no date when he related the event:

> The *muqaddamīn* of the mountains heard [the news].
> They rang the church bells and assembled,
> Placing by lot two thousand of the brave
> On each of al-Madfūn and al-Fīdār (1).
> [Then] thirty thousand warriors
> Descended from the mountains like rain,
> And the Moslem, out on a stroll,
> Found death waiting on the battlefield (2).

Then follows an elaborate account of the battle. Ibn al-Qilāʿī listed with pride the names of the chieftains who distinguished themselves in the fighting (3): Khālid of Mishmish (4), Sinān and Sulaymān of Aylīj (5), Saʿāda and Sarkīs of Liḥfid, ʿAkkār and his brother Manṣūr (whose hometown is not mentioned), ʿAnṭār of al-ʿĀqūrā (6), and Binyāmīn of Ḥardīn (7). While the battle raged near Jubayl, Kurdish troops coming from the south to rescue the routed Moslems were beaten off and robbed of their weapons by the Lebanese warriors who kept watch at Nahr al-Fīdār, while the Moslem soldiers fleeing northwards were stripped clean by the warriors guarding Nahr al-Madfūn. Once the rout of the Moslems was complete, the *muqaddamīn* and their men met at Mʿād (near Jubayl) to divide the booty:

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(1) Nahr al-Madfūn and Nahr Alfīdār (or al-Fīdār), to the south of Batrūn and of Jubayl respectively, are the rivers (actually winter streams) which formed the northern and southern boundaries of the Jubayl district.

(2) *Madīḥa...*, p. 51.

(3) *Ibid.*, p. 52-53.

(4) Mishmish is a village in the Jubayl district.

(5) Aylīj is another village in the Jubayl district.

(6) Al-ʿĀqūrā is an important mountain village in the extreme east of the Jubayl district. *Muqaddam* ʿAnṭar of al-ʿĀqūrā, ancestor of the Baṣbūṣ family of today, was apparently a leading chieftain at the time. See the history of the Baṣbūṣ family in MS Bibliothèque Orientale 57, f.25.

(7) Binyāmīn of Ḥardīn (in the Batrūn district, on the boundary of Jibbat Bsharrī) was the only chieftain who lost his life in this battle.

They took four thousand horses,
Weapons and spears beyond count,
Numerous helmets and coats of mail,
And gold and silver in abundance.
They divided all this among thirty-thousand,
And every *muqaddam* received a share.
All in all there were thirty *muqaddamīn*,
Not counting the one who had fallen into heresy (1).

It is interesting to consider here a comment made by the author of the *mukhtaṣar*, who also wrote a history of M'ād, on the importance of that village as a meeting place for the Lebanese mountain chieftains in the Middle Ages:

The *marada* (2) of Lebanon used to meet in that village to hold counsel and exchange views. They made it the main village in the districts of Jubayl, al-Batrūn, and Jibbat Bsharrī. In 1302, the emir Ḥannā of Jubayl built towers in that village, or rather restored the towers to the west of the place known as al-Marza (3) where counsels used to be held for the defence against the Moslems (4).

In relating the meeting at M'ād which followed the battle of Jubayl, Ibn al-Qilā'ī mentioned that a share of the booty was allotted to the heretical *muqaddam* Sālim of Bsharrī. The patriarch, however, did not agree to that. Thereupon, the chieftains met

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(1) *Madīḥa...*, p. 53-54. The reference is to *Muqaddam* Sālim of Bsharrī, whose fall into heresy (according to Ibn al-Qilā'ī) had led to the fall of Tripoli to the Mamluks. For a more detailed discussion of the expedition of 1292, see below, p. 115 *et seq.*

(2) The Mardaites. It is not clear to what period the author refers here.

(3) The author here seems to have copied the name of the lord of Jubayl from Ibn al-Qilā'ī; but it is not clear from where he got the date 1302. Al-Marza is the name of a field near M'ād.

(4) The history of M'ād is on f.24-25 of MS Bibliothèque Orientale 57. The above passage is on f.25. The village of M'ād is near the coast and not far from Nahr al-Madfūn which formed the boundary between the districts of Jubayl and al-Batrūn. It also falls midway between Anṭilyās and Nahr al-Bārid, the southernmost and northernmost coastal points of Maronite Lebanon in the Middle Ages. Its central position possibly contributed to make it the meeting place of the Maronite chieftains whenever necessity called.

with the patriarch at Kafarḥay to choose another *muqaddam* for Jibbat Bsharrī, and their choice fell on Niqūlā the Centurion (1), who had killed 20 Moslems at Nahr Rash'īn (2) singlehanded. This choice was pointed out to the patriarch and the chieftains by a child who (miraculously) announced in Syriac that Niqūlā was on his way to Kafarḥay. When Niqūlā arrived flushed with victory, the patriarch and the chieftains "prayed over him and gave him the sword" (3) and made him *muqaddam* of Jibbat Bsharrī. His rule there, Ibn al-Qilā'ī continued, began with the expulsion of the heretics from the district. This was followed by over forty years of peace and prosperity during which Mount Lebanon became well-known, in Rome and elsewhere, for the orthodoxy of its people (4).

Actually, the victory of the Lebanese mountaineers over the Mamluk expedition in 1292 was followed by nothing like 40 years of peace and prosperity. In 1300 and 1305 two other expeditions were organized against Kisrawān, the second of which ended with the utter defeat of the mountaineers—Christians, Mitwālīs, and Druzes (5). Ibn al-Qilā'ī gave an account of this expedition in connection with the visit to Rome of the patriarch Irmiyā al-'Amshītī in 1215. He began by relating how the heresy of the two monks of Yānūḥ and of Dayr Nbūḥ had divided the Maronites among themselves, then said:

> King Barqūq (6) heard of that,
> And a closed door lay open to him.
> He sent soldiers with banners

(1) Ibn al-Qilā'ī used the Syriac form of the title, *Qenṭrônā*, occasionally applying it to the *muqaddamīn* of Bsharrī (here, and again in *Madīḥa...*, p. 65, where he writes it *Qenṭrônī*).

(2) Nahr Rash'īn is the northernmost tributary of Nahr Abū 'Alī.

(3) *Madīḥa...*, p. 56.

(4) *Ibid.*, p. 55-56.

(5) See below, p. 117 *et seq.*

(6) Thus in Ibn al-Qilā'ī. The Mamluk sultan in question was actually an-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn. See below, p. 116.

To lay siege in Mount Lebanon.
The country was internally split,
And its inside was soiled with heresy.
Its ruler (1) was puffed up with pride,
And it lacked both loyalty and faith . . . .
Therefore al-Malik aẓ-Ẓāhir (2)
Wrote [to summon] the governors (3) and troops
To assemble and advance to the siege
At the Sultan's own expense.
Whoever cuts down a tree in Kisrawān, [he said],
Will receive ten [dinars as a prize].
The infidels held on for seven years (4)
Until they entered [the country] . . . .
For eight months the fighting went on (5)
And blood flowed in the market-places.
There was no victor nor loser,
But the sultan's troops became few.
The Moslems were afraid of defeat
For a Christian [alone] could kill ten;
So they set fire to the forests
Before it became too late . . . .
They cut down the fruit and the forest trees,
And the fire was set from [all] four sides.
Only those in Ḥisn Mi'rāb (6) survived,
With scorched flesh and blinded eyes . . . (7).

It seems that the destruction of Kisrawān in 1305 was the most serious calamity to befall Maronite Lebanon in the later Middle Ages, although the expedition was directed mainly against

(1) In the Arabic original, *malik*.

(2) Al-Malik aẓ-Ẓāhir was the regal name of Barqūq.

(3) Ibn al-Qilā'ī gave the plural of *nā'ib* (governor), which should be *nuwwāb*, as *niyyāb*, in the vernacular form.

(4) Here Ibn al-Qilā'ī exaggerated. The expedition lasted a little over five months, from July 25, 1305 until January 5, 1306. See below, p. 120, and *ibid.*, fn. 2.

(5) See the previous footnote.

(6) Mi'rāb is a village in the Jubayl district; and it still has the ruins of an old fort.

(7) *Madīḥa...*, p. 22-23.

the Rāfiḍa (Mitwālīs) and the Druzes of central Lebanon. As a result of the expedition, the country became "wild and deserted", and a colony of Turkoman guards (*akhfār*) was settled in it (1). The anonymous author of the *mukhtaṣar* of Ibn al-Qilā'ī and of the history of M'ād left a list of monasteries and churches destroyed by the Moslems at the time of the expedition of 1305 (and that of 1300) (2). Tādrus of Ḥamā, who gave a probably contemporary account of the 1305 expedition, said that the Lebanese mountaineers at the time were led by Druze chieftains of the house of Billama' (3).

Ibn al-Qilā'ī said that the sultan who ordered the great expedition against Kisrawān was al-Malik aẓ-Ẓāhir Barqūq (who came to the throne in 1382), and placed the expedition before Irmiyā's voyage to Rome in 1215. Duwayhī noticed this confusion and commented on it:

> This desolation did not take place in the days of Patriarch Irmiyā who was in the days of the Ayyūbid dynasty, nor at the time of al-Malik aẓ-Ẓāhir Barqūq who belonged to the Circassian dynasty [the Burjī Mamluks, 1382-1517], but at the time of aẓ-Ẓāhir Baybars and his successors of the Turkish dynasty [the Baḥrī Mamluks, 1250-1382] which came between the two (4).

Duwayhī, however, related the expedition under the year 1307 (5), during the reign of an-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn (1293-1340) (6) who had been mistakenly referred to as "Muḥammad Barqūq aẓ-Ẓāhir" by Tādrus of Ḥamā (7). Ibn

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(1) *Ibid.*, p. 25. See also below, p. 120-121. The descendants of these Turkomans were the Banū 'Assāf of Ottoman times.

(2) MS Bibliothèque Orientale 57, f.18-19.

(3) Tādrus of Ḥamā, *Nakbat Kisrawān...*, p. 86.

(4) Duwayhī, *TTM*, p. 378.

(5) *Ibid.*, p. 377; *TA*, p. 163.

(6) Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn was a Baḥrī Mamluk sultan and a successor of Baybars. See the above quotation from Duwayhī.

(7) Tādrus of Ḥamā, *loc. cit.* This must be a later interpolation, since Tādrus of Ḥamā probably lived and died before the accession of Barqūq in 1382.

al-Qilā'ī probably read the history of Tādrus of Ḥamā and used the Sultan's name as it appears there, omitting "Muḥammad" —the only part of the name which is correct. Būlus Qara'lī, who followed Ibn al-Qilā'ī in supposing that the expedition against Kisrawān had preceded Irmiyā's voyage to Rome, suggested that it was organized during the reign of another al-Malik aẓ-Ẓāhir, Ghāzī, the son of Ṣalāḥ ad-Dīn al-Ayyūbī (Saladin) who succeeded him in Aleppo (1186-1216) (1). There is nothing to support this suggestion except the unreliable chronological sequence in Ibn al-Qilā'ī's *Madīḥā* . . . .

In the *Madīḥa* . . ., the story of the appointment of *Muqaddam* Niqūlā, about whom nothing seems to be known from other sources, is followed by the story of the martyr death of the patriarch Jibrā'īl of Ḥajūlā. The Franks who had been expelled from Syria by the Mamluks had established themselves in Cyprus, and they did not abandon the idea of returning to Syria (2). They continued to conduct naval raids against the coastal towns of the Mamluk empire. Sidon and Beirut, on the Phœnician coast, suffered greatly from their raids (3). In 1366, the Latin king of Cyprus organized a large-scale naval raid against Alexandria, and the Mamluks retaliated by persecuting the Christian clergy in their domains (4). The persecution reached the Maronites of Lebanon; and on April 1, 1367, the Maronite patriarch Jibrā'īl of Ḥajūlā was burnt alive at Ṭīlān, outside Tripoli (5). Duwayhī related the

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(1) QARA'LĪ, *Ḥurūb...*, p. 31.

(2) H. LAMMENS, *La Syrie; précis historique* (Beirut, 1921), II, p. 1-2.

(3) ṢĀLIḤ IBN YAḤYĀ's *Tārīkh Bayrūt...* relates a number of raids which the Franks of Cyprus carried upon the coastal towns of Lebanon. See also H. LAMMENS, *op. cit.*, II, p. 18-19. Several of the raids were conducted by the Genoese fleet, sometimes operating from Cyprus.

(4) DUWAYHĪ, *TTM*, p. 386-387; *TA*, p. 185-186; *SB*, p. 347. Also below, p. 145-147, for further discussion.

(5) DUWAYHĪ, *TTM*, p. 387; Ṭ. 'ANAYSĪ, *Silsila...*, p. 27. Ḥajūlā is a village in the Jubayl district.

story of the patriarch's martyrdom and referred to an elegy by the patriarch's nephew which described the event (1).

Ibn al-Qilā'ī's version of the story, however, is not entirely correct. In his characteristic manner, he completely ignored the real cause of the persecution of the Eastern Christian clergy by the Mamluks, which was the naval raid of the king of Cyprus on Alexandria, and began the story with the fall into heresy of a certain monk Alīshā' in the days of *Muqaddam* Niqūlā. This Alīshā', Ibn al-Qilā'ī said (2), travelled east (probably to Mārdīn in upper Mesopotamia, a centre of the Jacobite church) and returned to preach the Jacobite heresy in Lebanon. He was soon punished for his sins. He fell to his death one day while walking out of his cell. His death, however, did not end the story. His heretical teachings had already caused trouble in Jibbat Bsharrī. The patriarch, corrupted by bribes, had accepted the teachings of Alīshā' and consented to the persecution of the bishops who clung to their orthodoxy (3). The people of the Jubayl district, who were steadfast in their faith, renounced the authority of the patriarch but continued to recognize the orthodox *Muqaddam* Niqūlā. In the meantime, the Moslems took advantage of this dissension and began to spread in Maronite Lebanon, taking villages by sword, converting Christians to Islam, and establishing *iqṭā'* holdings in the country. When the heretical patriarch died, Ibn al-Qilā'ī continued, he was succeeded by the orthodox Jibrā'īl of Ḥajūlā who died a martyr's death at the stake. Forty Christians bore false testimony to his heresy and his adultery; and God punished the Maronites for that by delivering them into the hands

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(1) Duwayhī, *loc. cit.* Also below, p. 146.

(2) The story is in *Madīḥa...*, p. 59-60.

(3) *Ibid.*, p. 59, verses vi, vii, and viii. Apparently the persecution of the orthodox bishops went to the extent of bloodshed. Verse vii reads:

لان البطرك بلم السم
واعطوه برطيل ملّو الفم
وارتضى في سفك الدم
بين الاساقفة والمصيان

of Ismā'īl (Ishmael: the Moslems) who enslaved them, destroyed their churches, and burdened them with taxes.

What truth is there in Ibn al-Qilā'ī's version of the story? A Maronite monk by the name of Alīshā' was still alive in 1404 (Ibn al-Qilā'ī's Alīshā' had supposedly died before 1367). Duwayhī was acquainted with some of his writings (the earliest of which was written in 1391) and testified to his orthodoxy (1). Was there an earlier Alīshā' who was a heretic? As for the patriarch Yūḥannā who preceded Jibrā'īl of Ḥajūlā, nothing is known about him except that he was still alive and in office in 1357 (2). 'Anaysī gives him the dates 1339-1357, and Jibrā'īl of Ḥajūlā the dates 1357-1367 (3); but none of these dates is certain except that of the latter's death. Could this Patriarch Yūḥannā have been a heretic too (4)?

The *Madīḥa* . . . continues with the story of the Dominican friar Aimery (5) who saved the Maronites from the heresy into which Alīshā' had led them:

> Aimery, of [blessed] memory,
> Attended to them and quenched that fire.
> He rebuked them in bold terms,
> And they obeyed and returned to the Faith.
> He fished them with the net
> And brought them blessings from Rome.
> [So] they appointed a chief . . . (6)
> And ordained a patriarch and an archbishop.

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(1) Duwayhī, *SB*, p. 348; *TTM*, p. 384-385.

(2) Duwayhī, *SB*, p. 313; *TTM*, p. 385. He resided in the monastery of Mār Sarkīs al-Qarn near Ḥardīn.

(3) Ṭ. 'Anaysī, *Silsila...*, p. 27.

(4) Duwayhī testified to his orthodoxy. *TTM*, p. 385-386.

(5) This is how Ibn al-Qilā'ī identified him in *Sham'ūn*, p. 102: "the monk Awmārīkū of the order of the Friars Preachers" —

الراهب اوماريكو من قانون الاخوة الموعظين

(6) The original is not clear:

وقاموا لهم راس في لبكه

The patriarch dwelt in Hābīl (1),
And he knew the Gospel well.
He was also a man of learning
Who wrote poems about the Faith.
They became steadfast in the faith of Mārūn
Until Ibn Sha'bān (2) appeared.
Those who were proud were humbled,
And those who had quarrelled were reconciled.
Yūḥannā al-Jājī was patriarch:
He received a crown and blessings from the Pope.
He sent [a legate] to the Council, and did not go there [himself];
And [the Pope] confirmed him shepherd of [the people of] Mārūn (3).

Nothing seems to be known about the Dominican friar Aimery who brought the Maronites back to orthodoxy at the time of Patriarch Yūḥannā al-Jājī (1404-1445) (4). From the context of the above passage, it appears that he reconverted the Maronites to orthodoxy at the time of the Council of Florence in 1439, the Council to which Yūḥannā al-Jājī sent a representative (5). In his letter to Patriarch Sham'ūn, however, Ibn al-Qilā'ī said that the mission of Aimery was before the Council of Florence, and that it was Fra Juan, Franciscan superior in Beirut (6), who

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(1) Meaning the monastery of *Sayyidat* Hābīl (Our Lady of Hābīl). The village of Hābīl is in the Jubayl district.

(2) Ibn Sha'bān was the heretical *muqaddam* of Ḥardīn at the time of Ibn al-Qilā'ī. See below, p. 80 *et seq.*

(3) *Madīḥa*..., p. 61-62. The "Council" was that of Florence (1439). See Duwayhī, *TTM*, p. 388-392, and below, p. 154-156.

(4) Ṭ. 'Anaysī, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

(5) See above, fn. 3.

(6) The Franciscans were first established in Beirut in the first half of the thirteenth century. They had a monastery attached to the once famous church of the Saviour (at present the Serail mosque) in which they served. With the fall of the last remnants of the Latin Kingdom in Syria to al-Ashraf Khalīl in 1291, the Franciscans lost their position in the city, and many of them were killed when Beirut was taken. They soon returned, however, and again took possession of their church and their monastery. They were already re-established in 1345; and by the end of the fifteenth century the Franciscan monastery in

represented Yūḥannā al-Jājī at that Council (1).

Duwayhī quoted from an unfinished poem by Ibn al-Qilāʻī (the last one he wrote) a passage which describes the role of the Maronites at the Council of Florence. The Council had been summoned by Pope Eugene IV (1431-1447) to discuss the possibilities of union between the Greek and Eastern churches and Rome (2). Ibn al-Qilāʻī wrote:

The Church has truly tried
To gather [the dispersed] and prove [its stand].
Her enemies—Copts, Greeks, and Armenians—
Had lied to her.
Pope Eugene
Arranged for that synod [to meet];
And after him Pope Pius (3)
Wrote to confirm and give peace.
Five hundred ducats a day were spent
On [those who attended the Council],
And they stayed on for three years (4)
Debating formulas and oaths.
The first to argue with the Franks
Were the Greeks, and they were defeated.
The Copts were [also] struck down,
And so were the Armenians after them.
The patriarch Yūḥannā al-Jājī
Wrote and declared: "I am a Frank (5)!"
He received the staff and the crown
And remained faithful and secure.

Beirut was one of the largest Franciscan establishments in Syria. P. Girolamo Golubovich, *Serie...*, p. 216-217.

(1) *Sham'ūn*, p. 102. See below, p. 155.

(2) M. Creighton, *A history of the papacy from the Great Schism to the sack of Rome* (London, 1897), II, p. 240-353. See also C.-J. Hefele, *op. cit.*, VII, p. 10-1106, for a full account of the Council of Florence.

(3) Pope Pius II (1458-1464), the first Pope by that name to follow Eugene IV.

(4) The Council of Florence began there (until 1442), and it was resumed at the Lateran in Rome (until 1444).

(5) Arabic *anā franjī*: I am a Latin, or a Roman Catholic.

Enemies lied about him [and claimed]
That the faith of Mārūn was unsound,
But he received messengers and legates [from the Pope]
And deserved to wear the ring . . . (1).

The last and most reliable part of Ibn al-Qilā'ī's history deals with the events of his time. It is found mainly in *Tabkīt...* and in the *Madīḥa...*, and Ibn al-Qilā'ī's few available letters help to substantiate some facts, and point to others.

In the last three sections of the *Madīḥa...*, Ibn al-Qilā'ī related how the Jacobite heresy spread in Jibbat Bsharrī during his absence in Italy. Yūḥannā al-Jājī, he began, was followed as patriarch by Ya'qūb al-Ḥadathī (1445-1468) (2) who, in turn, was succeeded by the patriarch in whose days the heresy of 'Abd al-Mun'im of Bsharrī (1472-1495) (3) developed. This patriarch (not named in the *Madīḥa...*) was Buṭrus ibn Yūsuf Ibn Ḥassān al-Ḥadathī (1468-1492) (4), who died just before Ibn al-Qilā'ī's return from Italy. 'Abd al-Mun'im died in heresy; and the patriarch at the time was living at Qannūbīn (5). Ibn al-Qilā'ī then related the conversion to heresy of another mountain chieftain, *Muqaddam* Ibn Sha'bān of Ḥardīn:

Ibn Sha'bān (6) was in Ḥardīn
And three heretics were descended from him.
He was originally [of the] Greek [faith],
And he became a Maronite afterwards;
[But] he was approached by an accursed [Jacobite] agent
Known as the archbishop 'Īsā.
[This 'Īsā] converted to heresy the destitute and the hypocrites,
Ibn Sha'bān and the people of Ḥardīn;

(1) Quotation by Duwayhī, *TTM*, p. 397-398. For further discussion see the study on Duwayhī, below, p. 154-156.

(2) Ṭ. 'Anaysī, *Silsila...*, p. 29. His full name is Ya'qūb Buṭrus ibn 'Īd al-Ḥadathī.

(3) Duwayhī, *TA*, p. 215, 221.

(4) Ṭ. 'Anaysī, *op. cit.*, p. 30-31.

(5) *Madīḥa...*, p. 63.

(6) In the published edition, Ibn Sha'yā.

And, following the devil's ways,
They began to teach girls and boys together,
To cross themselves with one finger (1),
To deny the Fourth Council (2),
The Pope Leo the Seventh (3),
And the orthodox emperor Marcian . . . (4).
[Ibn Sha'bān] died, and was followed by his son (5)
Who was [even] a worse heretic . . . .
Ibn 'Aṭsha (6) flattered him
And sent him the book of heresy (7)
With two [men] expelled [from the clergy]
[Because their orthodoxy was] suspected:
[They were] neither learned nor ordained,
[And] they had left Liḥfid as boys . . . (8).

The clue to this passage and to what follows in the *Madīḥa...* is in Duwayhī's *Tārīkh al-azmina*. There the two heretics from Liḥfid who helped strengthen the heresy of the *muqaddam* of Ḥardīn are identified as Samyā and his son Jirjis (9). Duwayhī did not

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(1) Symbolizing the One Nature of Christ, according to the Monophysite heresy.

(2) The Council of Chalcedon, which anathemized the Monophysite heresy, was the Fourth Œcumenical Council (451 A.D.).

(3) Pope Leo VII (936-939). Probably Ibn al-Qilā'ī meant Leo I (440-461), author of the symbol of the Council of Chalcedon.

(4) Marcian (450-457) was Roman Emperor in the East. The Council of Chalcedon was held during his reign. Ibn al-Qilā'ī entitled him simply *malik*.

(5) The name of Ibn Sha'bān's son is not given by Ibn al-Qilā'ī, and I have not found it elsewhere. Qara'lī (*Ḥurūb...*, p. 63, fn.7) calls him Mūsā; but this is because of a mistake in reading Duwayhī, *TA*, p. 218, line 15 (as numbered).

(6) Mūsā ibn 'Aṭsha (or Ibn 'Aṭshiyya) was a Monophysite missionary from Tripoli and a contemporary of *Muqaddam* 'Abd al-Mun'im. He seems to have been originally a Copt from Egypt. Duwayhī, *TA*, p. 217; *TTM*, p. 418; I. Y. Dāwūd, *Jāmi' al-ḥujaj ar-rāhina fī ibṭāl da'āwī al-Mawārina* (Cairo, 1908), p. 293.

(7) A Monophysite church book by Ibn 'Aṭsha. See I. Y. Dāwūd, *loc. cit.* The book is found in a Vatican manuscript (Vat. syr. 74).

(8) *Madīḥa...*, p. 63.

(9) Duwayhī, *TA*, p. 218.

mention that they were agents of the Jacobite missionary Mūsā ibn 'Aṭsha, as Ibn al-Qilā'ī had implied, nor did he say anything about the relations between Ibn 'Aṭsha and the *muqaddam* of Ḥardīn. He only spoke of Ibn 'Aṭsha as the man who converted *Muqaddam* 'Abd al-Mun'im of Bsharrī to the Jacobite faith (1). According to Duwayhī, regular Monophysite missionary work among the Maronites was started by the priest Nūḥ al-Bqūfānī, who later became Jacobite patriarch of Antioch (1493-1509) (2). Several years before 1487 (3), Nūḥ came from Jerusalem to Lebanon to live in al-Farādīs (south of Ihdin) in Jibbat Bsharrī. He soon became surrounded by a group of men who were interested in religion and learning or aspired after the priesthood, like 'Īsā (the archbishop 'Īsā mentioned by Ibn al-Qilā'ī) and Ibn Sha'bān of Ḥardīn, Mūsā and Ḥannā the sons of Ibrāhīm al-Bqūfānī, Samyā and his son Jirjis of Liḥfid, Mūsā from the village of Mūsā (4), and others. Nūḥ led these Maronites away from Latin orthodoxy and had them ordained members of the regular and secular Jacobite clergy at the hands of Dioscorus, Jacobite bishop of Jerusalem (5).

Ibn al-Qilā'ī did not mention Nūḥ al-Bqūfānī, and of his followers he only mentioned Samyā, 'Īsā, and Ibn Sha'bān (6). Samyā, he said, lived as a monk in Dayr al-Farādīs, and his disciples were active in propagating the Jacobite heresy, especially among women. It was this Samyā, he added, who converted *Muqaddam* 'Abd al-Mun'im:

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(1) *Ibid.*, p. 217.

(2) Ibrāhīm Ḥarfūsh, introduction to *Tabkīt...* (*al-Manāra*, II, 1931), p. 753. See also V. Grumel, *La chronologie* (*Traité d'études byzantines*, I, Paris 1958), p. 450. Bqūfā, a village near Ihdin, is at present a ruin.

(3) Duwayhī related these events under the year 1487, as an introduction to the events which took place in that year.

(4) I have not been able to locate the village of Mūsā — possibly a small village in Jibbat Bsharrī which has ceased to exist.

(5) Duwayhī, *TA*, p. 218.

(6) *Madīḥa...*, p. 64.

It was he who made the Centurion err
And who became his spiritual father,
Increasing his temporal [domain]
And casting him in the depths of heresy (1).

In the *Madīḥa...*, Ibn al-Qilā'ī was mainly interested in preaching to his hometown Liḥfid, to Bsharrī, and to *Muqaddam* 'Abd al-Mun'im, and in pleading for a return to orthodoxy (2). He did not dwell on facts and events. *Tabkīt . . .* gives the story of 'Abd al-Mun'im's conversion in more detail:

When I arrived in Mount Lebanon
I found it sown with tares;
[And], as a learned Jacobite [once] said,
Heresy starts with the teacher!
Ibn 'Aṭsha, who sold water jars (3)
[And] came from the land of the Jacobites,
Asked some monks to deliver a book
Written in Arabic and Syriac . . .
To *as-Sayyid* (4) 'Abd al-Mun'im.
Whoever spoke against this book
['Abd al-Mun'im] expelled from the country,
Confiscating all he possessed,
Taking away his sons and daughters,
And beheading him if he [dared] protest.
[While this] oppressive rule . . .
Caused fear in Jibbat [Bsharrī] . . . ,
Jacob (5) entered from under the threshold

(1) *Ibid.*, p. 65.

(2) *Ibid.*, p. 64-72. As it has already been noted, Ibn al-Qilā'ī mentioned the death of 'Abd al-Mun'im in the *Madīḥa...*, which means that it was written after the latter's death. Ibn al-Qilā'ī's address to 'Abd al-Mun'im must have been, therefore, a post-mortem address.

(3) My translation of *bāyi' ashnān*. Ibrāhīm Ḥarfūsh explained the term *ashnān* (pl. of *shann*, a water jar) differently to mean sour milk. See *Tabkīt...*, p. 808, fn.

(4) Thus in the original: an unusual title to be used for a Maronite at the time! The title was (and still is) used for descendants of the Prophet; and today it is the common Arabic courtesy title for men.

(5) The reference is to Jacob Baradaeus, founder of the Jacobite church.

And began to preach unopposed.
[The *Muqaddam*] studied in that book,
And [the Jacobites] brought him a saddle for his horse (1).
They attended his wedding feast,
And through him their heresy was spread . . . .
I heard of this misfortune (2)
And began writing letters to object;
But he answered in a manner that made me fell sick:
He threatened me with death (3)!

On receiving this answer from 'Abd al-Mun'im, Ibn al-Qilā'ī went to visit the *muqaddam* in person. He warned him about his doctrinal errors and gave him proofs of the True Faith; but 'Abd al-Mun'im simply answered that the beliefs he held were not of his own creation. They were found, he said, in a book which Ibn 'Aṭsha had given to his uncle, *Muqaddam* Rizq-Allāh (4). 'Abd al-Mun'im further explained that he was a simple layman who did not understand religious affairs and was not, therefore, qualified to discuss such matters. Ibn al-Qilā'ī asked to see the book of Ibn 'Aṭsha, but 'Abd al-Mun'im refused to show it (5). Ibn al-Qilā'ī continued:

He bid me farewell when I left him.
He did not make me hear angry words;
But, [although] he offered me drink and food,
He did not give me the book . . . (6)

It is clear from Ibn al-Qilā'ī's accounts that the Jacobite

(1) Apparently a reference to gifts received by 'Abd al-Mun'im from the Jacobites.

(2) "Misfortune" is my translation of *'āriḍ*.

(3) *Tabkīt...*, p. 808.

(4) Earlier in *Tabkīt...*, Ibn al-Qilā'ī had said that the book was sent by Ibn 'Aṭsha to 'Abd al-Mun'im himself, and not to his uncle and predecessor Rizq-Allāh. See the passage quoted above.

(5) This part of *Tabkīt...* is only available in a paraphrase by Duwayhī — a paraphrase included in the published edition (*Tabkīt...*, p. 809). See above, p. 40-41.

(6) *Tabkīt...*, p, 809.

propagandists in his day were active in Maronite Lebanon and were meeting with considerable success. The *Madīḥa...*, which relates earlier Maronite lapses into heresy, shows that the Jacobite propaganda was not new to Mount Lebanon, and that it had already existed there probably since the late thirteenth century (*i.e.* the heresy of the monks of Yānūḥ and of Dayr Nbūḥ) (1). The Jacobites who came to Lebanon and sought to convert the Maronites to their communion were probably fleeing from Syria because of the persecution in the Mamluk empire which followed the expulsion of the Franks and the defeat of their potential allies, the Mongols. Maronite Lebanon was never part of the Mamluk empire in the full sense, although it fell indirectly under Mamluk rule and was supposed to pay tribute to Egypt. Its various districts maintained local autonomy, and its local feudal chieftains continued to run the affairs of the villages and districts and to administer justice among their followers. The Maronites, in general, underwent little persecution. It is not strange, therefore, to find Jacobites and Melchites (whom Ibn al-Qilā'ī mentioned as having come to Lebanon in the days of *Muqaddam* Sālim) infiltrating into Lebanon and trying to reconcile the natives of the country, or at least their chieftains, to their presence among them. They seem to have attempted this by preaching the doctrines of their respective churches to the Maronites who, apparently, were not immune to such preaching.

Of the heretical movements known to have spread among the Maronites in the Mamluk period only the last (that of Ibn al-Qilā'ī's time) is known through a first hand account. This account is brief, incomplete, and not explicit throughout; but it clearly indicates that the Jacobite propagandists of the later fifteenth century were not clergymen. Some of them were laymen, like Ibn 'Aṭsha who sold pitchers. Education, which seems to have

(1) *Madīḥa...*, p. 21; above, p. 53, 59. According to Ibn al-Qilā'ī, these monks held the Monophysite view that Christ had no human soul, and that His Nature was not capable of feeling and suffering.

been neglected among the Maronites at the time, was a favourite tool of those propagandists who used it to spread their religious beliefs. It was a Jacobite priest, according to Duwayhī, who taught 'Abd al-Mun'im how to read (1). Nūḥ al-Bqūfānī taught eager Maronite students in al-Farādīs, and later converted them to the Jacobite communion (2).

The *muqaddamīn* appear to have been the best allies of the Jacobites among the Maronites. 'Abd al-Mun'im in Bsharrī and Ibn Sha'bān and his son and successor in Ḥardīn were the most eager supporters of the Jacobites in Ibn al-Qilā'ī's day. These chieftains probably received material benefit from the Jacobites and, in return, permitted them to reside in their districts under their protection. Ibn al-Qilā'ī pointed out that the *muqaddamīn* received presents from the Jacobites. Coming into Lebanon from the coastal cities and from the commercial centres of the interior, the Jacobites brought with them fortunes which must have impressed the peasant Maronites. The conversion of the *muqaddamīn* could not have been doctrinal. 'Abd al-Mun'im, according to Ibn al-Qilā'ī, confessed that he was only a layman who could neither understand nor discuss religious matters. Simple Maronite clergymen, like Samyā and his son Jirjis of Liḥfid, joined the Jacobite church in the hope of advancing in clerical rank and of gaining benefits from both the Jacobites and their patrons, the *muqaddamīn*. It appears that the two Maronite groups which opposed the Jacobite propaganda were the leading clergymen, who were jealous of losing their authority, and the peasants, who must have been suspicious and jealous of the rich foreigners and their growing power in the country. It was the latter group (the people of Ihdin) who, according to Duwayhī, rose against the Jacobites and expelled them from Jibbat Bsharrī in 1488 (3).

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(1) DUWAYHĪ, *TA*, p. 217.

(2) See above, p. 82.

(3) DUWAYHĪ, *TA*, p. 218-219. See also below, p. 149 *et seq.* for further discussion.

Ibn al-Qilā'ī was not only the historian of the Monophysite movement of his time. He also played the leading part in opposing it and in bringing the heretical Maronites of his day back to Roman orthodoxy. His own biography is an essential part of the history of the Maronite church in the late fifteenth century. The letters of warning which he wrote to his community reflect its religious condition and give the names of some of the leading heretical Maronites at the time (1).

* * *

As a historian Ibn al-Qilā'ī was not accurate, and he was interested more in preaching Roman orthodoxy than in recording facts. He was a priest and a missionary before being a historian and a poet. Nevertheless, his history is important, despite its many faults. Its chronology may be confused, its interpretations biased, and its facts distorted and mixed with legend; but it remains a most important source for the history of the Maronites during the period of Crusader and Mamluk rule, mainly because almost no other sources can be found. However, the figure of Ibn al-Qilā'ī as a historian recedes before that of Iṣṭifān ad-Duwayhī. Drawing on Ibn al-Qilā'ī, as well as on more delicate and fragmentary material, Duwayhī was the first Maronite scholar to attempt a true historical solution to the puzzle of the mediæval history of the Maronites.

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(1) Ibn al-Qilā'ī's letter to the heretical Maronite priest Jirjis ar-Rāmī has already been mentioned and quoted. See above, p.29-30. In a letter to the people of his hometown Liḥfid, Ibn al-Qilā'i mentioned the names of Samyā and Jirjis and of Dāwūd, the archbishop of Liḥfid who was secretly a Jacobite agent. (Vat. arab. 644, quoted in *Ḥurūb...*, p. 80). He also addressed a letter to this archbishop Dāwūd (see below, Appendix A.). In a letter of warning which he wrote to the Maronites (Vat. arab. 640, f. 203r-205v), Ibn al-Qilā'ī mentioned a certain Alīshā' of al-Ḥadath (the "pickpocket" of al-Ḥadath — see f. 205r, col. ii) as a leading heretic, along with Ibn Sha'bān of Ḥardīn.

II

THE HISTORY OF ISṬIFĀN AD-DUWAYHĪ

Before the seventeenth century there was no true history writing among the Maronites. The works of the historians who came before Duwayhī, "the father of Maronite history" (1), were fragmentary or contained more legend than fact. They were far from giving a full and coherent picture of the past. Duwayhī was the first Maronite to attempt a complete history of his people. A man of keen intelligence and a graduate of the Maronite College of Rome, he was well-fitted by natural ability and training to deal with the semi-legendary fragments of historical information which lay in the various monasteries of Lebanon.

Isṭifān ad-Duwayhī was born in the village of Ihdin (2), probably in May 1629 (3). His father Mīkhā'īl was the son of a

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(1) G. Graf, *op. cit.*, III, p. 306.

(2) Ihdin is an important village (at present a small town) in Jibbat Bsharrī.

(3) Neither Duwayhī (who left an autobiographical sketch in his *Tārīkh al-madrasa al-mārūniyya fī Rūmiya*, published in *al-Mashriq*, XXI, 1923, p. 209-216, 270-279; hence *TMMR*) nor his biographers have given the date of his birth. Duwayhī said that he left for Rome at the end of his eleventh year (*ibid.*, p. 212). Sim'ān 'Awwād, his contemporary and biographer, fixed the date of his departure for Rome as 1641 (*Tarjamat Mār Isṭifān ad-Duwayhī*, in Duwayhī, *TTM*, p. x-xxvii; *ibid.*, p. *x*). Accordingly, he must have been born in 1629. 'Awwād also said that when Duwayhī died in 1704 he was 79 (*ibid.*, p. xxv). This would mean that he was born in 1625. It is mentioned in an anonymous biography of Duwayhī (published by Ibrāhīm Ḥarfūsh in *al-Mashriq*,

priest (*al-Qiss* Mūsā ad-Duwayhī) (1), and his mother Maryam was also a Duwayhī (2). After finishing his elementary education in his native village, Isṭifān was sent to Rome by his uncle, the archbishop Ilyās ad-Duwayhī. He was then nearly twelve years old. He arrived in Rome in June, 1641, and was enrolled as a student in the Maronite College (3), where he showed exceptional merit in studying philosophy and theology. He graduated on April 3, 1655 (4).

Upon his graduation, a Maronite professor, Ibrāhīm al-Ḥāqilānī (Abraham Ecchellensis), proposed his selection as a missionary; and, accordingly, the College of Propaganda sent him back to serve in Lebanon (5). For two years Duwayhī was a simple

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V, 1902, p. 686-696) that the patriarch-historian was born, consecrated patriarch and died in the month of May. Consequently, the probable date of his birth is May 1629. Ferdinand Taoutel, in his introduction to *Tārīkh al-azmina*, said that Duwayhī was born on August 6, 1630 (*TA*, p. i), which means that he left for Rome before he was eleven. I do not know from where Taoutel got his date.

(1) Duwayhī, *TMMR*, p. 212.

(2) 'Awwād, *op. cit.*, p. x.

(3) Duwayhī, *TMMR*, p. 12; 'Awwād, *op. cit.*, p. x-xi. The Maronite College in Rome was founded in 1584 by Gregory XIII in accordance with the wish of the Maronite patriarch Mīkhā'īl ar-Ruzzī. It was originally planned to establish the College at Cyprus, but the Ottoman conquest of the island in 1570-1571 made that impossible. The College was managed by the Jesuits until 1773, and thereafter by secular priests. During the Napoleonic wars (in 1803), when Rome was invaded, the College was closed and its work was carried on by the College of Propaganda. Leo XIII restored the College in the late nineteenth century. See P. Dib, "Maronites", cols. 61-62; Louis Cheikho, "La nation Maronite et la Compagnie de Jésus aux XVIème et XVIIème siècles" (Arabic, in *al-Mashriq*, XXI, 1923), p. 69 *et seq.*

(4) This according to Duwayhī, *TMMR*, p. 212. 'Awwād said that Duwayhī left Rome on April 3, 1654, approximately six months after his graduation in 1653.

(5) Duwayhī, *loc. cit.* Ibrāhīm al-Ḥāqilānī was born in Ḥāqil (near Jubayl) in February 1605, and went to Rome in 1620. In church rank, he remained a deacon all his life. He taught in Rome and Paris, and died in 1664 (Graf, *op. cit.*, III, p. 354).

priest in his native village, Ihdin, where he started a school. Afterwards he was made head of the monastery of Rās an-Nahr. In 1657 he went to Aleppo with the newly appointed Syriac Catholic archbishop and stayed with him there for eight months, helping him in his affairs and preaching in the church of Mār Ilyās. On his return to Lebanon he took residence in the monastery of Mār Ya'qūb al-Ḥbāsh, which he restored from ruins, and stayed there for five years (1).

In 1663 (2) the Maronite patriarch Jirjis as-Sib'ilī sent Duwayhī as a missionary and preacher to Aleppo where, it is said, he converted many Melchites, Nestorians, and Jacobites to the Catholic faith. He left Aleppo five years later to go on a pilgrimage to the Holy Places with his mother and his brother Mūsā. On his return from the pilgrimage in the spring of 1668, he was appointed bishop of Cyprus (3); and for the next two years "he travelled among the parishioners of the Jibba, the Zāwiya, 'Akkār, and Cyprus, working hard for their salvation" (4). On May 20, 1670, following the death of Jirjis as-Sib'ilī, the Maronite bishops and notables elected Isṭifān ad-Duwayhī to succeed him as Maronite

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(1) Duwayhī, *TMMR*, p. 212-213. The monasteries of Rās an-Nahr (also known as Mār Sarkīs, in Ihdin) and Mār Ya'qūb al-Ḥbāsh (*al-Aḥbāsh*: the Abyssinians) are both in Jibbat Bsharrī. Duwayhī alone mentions his first visit to Aleppo. According to 'Awwād (*op. cit.*, p. xii-xiii), he stayed in Ihdin until 1663, when he was sent to Aleppo for five years and returned in 1668.

(2) See 'Awwād, *loc. cit.*, and the preceding footnote. Duwayhī said that he went to Aleppo in 1657, stayed there for eight months (which most probably extended into 1658), and returned to Lebanon to stay there for five years, which also gives the date 1663 for his second departure to Aleppo. Taoutel said that Duwayhī left for Aleppo for the second time in 1662 (*TA*, p. ii), which is less probable than 1663. In his autobiographical sketch, Duwayhī skipped the five years of his life ending with 1668 and made no mention of his five-year stay in Aleppo.

(3) Duwayhī, *TMMR*, p. 213; 'Awwād, *op. cit.*, p. xiii; Taoutel (*TA*, p. 2); and the anonymous biography (see above, p. 89, fn. 3), p. 688.

(4) Duwayhī, *loc. cit.*

Patriarch of Antioch (1); and in 1672 he received the confirmation of Pope Clement X (2).

Duwayhī proved an efficient patriarch. He is sometimes spoken of as Mār Isṭifān al-Kabīr (the Great) (3). He was a good organizer and enforced a strict discipline on the clergy of the Maronite church. The metropolitans and the bishops, it is said, were not pleased with the new discipline and tried unsuccessfully at one time to have him removed from office (4). Among other things, he revised the liturgical works and religious writings of the Maronite church, removing "the errors which had been introduced by copyists and polemics" (5); and he also wrote tracts expounding the sacraments of the Church (6). In 1700 he confirmed the rules of the Maronite monastic order (7). When he died at Qannūbīn, the seat of the Maronite patriarchate, on May 3, 1704 (8), he had already become a legend. His earliest biographer, the patriarch

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(1) 'Awwād, *loc. cit.*, gave the date as June 12. Duwayhī, *loc. cit.*, gave it as May 20; and so did Ṭ. 'Anaysī, *Silsila...*, p. 44.

(2) Ṭ. 'Anaysī, *loc. cit.*; Duwayhī, *loc. cit.*; 'Awwād, *loc. cit.* One understands from 'Awwād's account that the Pope's confirmation was delayed for two years because the Maronites were not unanimous in their choice of Duwayhī as patriarch. The Khāzins, leading Maronite family in Kisrawān, resented the fact that they had not been consulted about the patriarchal election; but they were later appeased. Apparently, they had previously written to the Pope requesting him not to send the confirmation and the pallium to Duwayhī.

(3) Ṭ. 'Anaysī, *loc. cit.* *Mār* (Syriac for "master" or "lord") is the title for saints and patriarchs in the Eastern churches which use Syriac in their liturgy.

(4) 'Awwād, *op. cit.*, p. xvii.

(5) *Ibid.*, p. xiii.

(6) Duwayhī, *TMMR*, p. 213.

(7) Ṭ. 'Anaysī, *op. cit.*, p. 45; R. Shartūnī, *Mukhtaṣar tārīkh ar-rahbana al-lubnāniyya* (in *TTM*, p. 262-277), p. 268. The Maronite monastic order (Antonine) was confirmed by Duwayhī in 1700, five years after he himself had established it in 1695 (*ibid.*, p. 267). 'Anaysī said that Duwayhī confirmed the rule of the order in 1695.

(8) Ṭ. 'Anaysī, *loc. cit.*

Sim'ān 'Awwād (who considered himself honoured to have been among those who had known him and spoken to him) (1) had much to say about his *āyāt* (miracles), which both Maronites and Druzes appear to have accepted.

In physical appearance Isṭifān ad-Duwayhī was a man of medium height, with a broad face, a long beard, an aquiline nose, parted eyebrows, and bright eyes (2). He was an ascetic, living on a simple vegetarian diet, except in time of illness (3), and wearing clean but simple clothes (4). As the judge of his community he was fair, strongly rebuking those who offered him bribes (5); and while head of the church he attended to such small details as the appointment of a village priest (6). He was a pious man and a tireless seeker of knowledge. When still a student in Rome he spent his Sundays and holidays visiting the churches and libraries of the city and copying everything he could find concerning the Maronites (7). He spoke of himself as having spent the two years between his appointment as bishop of Cyprus in 1668 and his accession to the patriarchate in 1670 "tiring himself in roaming about, examining books, and collecting historical information" (8).

The writings of Duwayhī include not only histories but also religious works. It is for the former, however, that he is best remembered. These include three main works: a history of the Maronites (*Tārīkh aṭ-ṭā'ifa al-mārūniyya*), a general chronicle of the period from the First Crusade to his own time (*Tārīkh al-azmina*), and a chronology of the Maronite patriarchs (*Silsilat baṭārikat aṭ-ṭā'ifa al-mārūniyya*).

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(1) 'Awwād, *op. cit.*, p. xx.
(2) *Ibid.*, p. xxv.
(3) *Ibid.*, p. xii.
(4) *Ibid.*, p. xx.
(5) *Ibid.*, p. xvii.
(6) *Ibid.*, p. xiii.
(7) *Ibid.*, p. xii.
(8) Duwayhī, *TMMR*, p. 213.

In *Tārīkh aṭ-ṭā'ifa al-mārūniyya* (1) Duwayhī discussed the historical and religious origins of his people and attempted to prove their unbroken orthodoxy and union with Rome. In the first part of this work, which is entitled *Nisbat al-Mawārina* (Origin of the Maronites) (2), he dealt with the rise of the Maronite church and community and their early development until the eighth century. The second part, entitled *Radd at-tuham wa daf' ash-shubah* (Answer to the accusations and disproof of the suspicions) (3), is a polemical defence of the unbroken orthodoxy of the Maronites and their continuous attachment to the Holy See, which is rich in historical and biographical material. There is a third part entitled *Iḥtijāj 'an al-milla al-mawāriniyya* (Protest for the Maronite sect) (4), which is an apology for the Maronites, "refuting every accusation made against them by missionaries..." (5). This last part, however, deals exclusively with theological polemics and is not, strictly speaking, of historical importance. It shall not, therefore, be considered.

Duwayhī's purpose in writing *Tārīkh aṭ-ṭā'ifa al-mārūniyya* is made clear in the introduction:

When I saw that some historians take contradictory views about the origin of the Maronite nation (*al-umma al-mārūniyya*) and propound varying theories

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(1) *Tārīkh aṭ-ṭā'ifa al-mārūniyya* (*TTM*) was published in Beirut in 1890 by Rashīd al-Khūrī ash-Shartūnī. The edition only includes the first two (the historical) parts of the work. These are intercepted by an appendix including selections from Duwayhī's *Tārīkh al-azmina* (p. 97-262), a selection from the history of Yūsuf Mārūn ad-Duwayhī (p. 279-280), a history of the Maronite monastic order by the editor Shartūnī (p. 262-277), and the minutes of the Maronite Council of 1596 (p. 287-291), along with other passages of minor importance. The appendix is on p. 97-291.

(2) *Ibid.*, p. 1-97.

(3) *Ibid.*, p. 292-466.

(4) Shartūnī did not include this part in his edition of *TTM* (see above, fn. 1). It was published separately in *al-Manāra*, VIII, XI, XII, XIII, and XIV.

(5) Duwayhī, *TTM*, p. vi.

about it, I was carried by enthusiasm to write this brief work showing in it the truth about the origin of this nation on the basis of valid historical data and unelaborate and convincing proofs. I do not seek through this to win praise for [this nation] or to show its virtues and make known the honour of its first leaders. My real purpose is to clear it from the charges which have been brought against it.... Most foreigners who have written about the Maronite nation depended on hearsay (*al-masmū'āt*) and on the writings of some of our enemies; and they did not examine their information to differentiate its true from its false.... How, then, can their testimony be held against us when they did not mix with any of our learned men, nor speak to our chiefs, nor know our language so as to get acquainted with our books and extract from them our history (1)?

This introduction reveals from the outset the polemical nature of the work as a whole. Duwayhī set out to prove in *Nisbat al-Mawārina* that the Maronites were so called after the blessed Mārūn of Cyrus, the eponymous founder of the monastery of Mār Mārūn on the Orontes, who died in the early fifth century, and that the monks of this monastery had always been faithfully attached to the Roman Church. A detailed account of the life of Mār Mārūn and his disciples is given (2). This is followed by an account of the life of Yūḥannā Mārūn as-Sarūmī (3), the semi-legendary founder of the Maronite church and its first patriarch, who first took orders in the monastery of Mār Mārūn, hence his surname. The first part of the work ends with the death of Yūḥannā Mārūn on February 9, 707 (4) and with the accession of his nephew Qūrush (Cyrus) to the patriarchate (5). Duwayhī summed up the first part as follows:

The summary of what we have mentioned in this part is that the Maronite nation was not called by this name after... a heretical Mārūn, for there is not the least mention of such in all the church books; but that this nation was called Maronite after the monastery of Mār Mārūn, through Yūḥannā as-Sarūmī

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(1) *Ibid.*, p. 1.
(2) *Ibid.*, p. 17-52.
(3) *Ibid.*, p. 53-96.
(4) *Ibid.*, p. 91-92, mentioned the day of the month but not the year, which I took from Ṭ. 'Anaysī, *Silsila...*, p. 14.
(5) Duwayhī, *TTM,* p. 95.

who took orders in it at first, and finally sought refuge in it when he was persecuted by Justinian [Justinian II, d. 711], because he had gone to Rome and received the patriarchal title from Pope Sergius, whose beliefs he accepted (1).

The second part, as Duwayhī himself described it (2), substantiates the unbroken orthodoxy of the Maronites and refutes all the "false claims" made against it throughout the centuries:

The proof of that depends on three groups of sources: first, the writings of the great men of learning which throw light on such problems; second, the writings of the learned men of the [Maronite] nation itself; third, the archives of the Popes of the great [city of] Rome, and the letters which they sent to confirm the [Maronite] patriarchs.... For [the popes] bore testimony to the true faith of those patriarchs by giving them the pallium of perfection; and theirs was the best of testimonies.

This part is in nineteen chapters, arranged chronologically according to the dates at which the Maronites had allegedly fallen into or been rescued from error or schism. This arrangement gives *Radd at-tuham wa daf' ash-shubah* a historical continuity which it easily could have lacked, considering that it is primarily a work of polemics. The different chapters of this part are similar in structure. Each is entitled *Fī radd qawl . . .* (in answer to the statement) or *Fī ibṭāl daʿwā...* (in refutation of the claim), followed by the name of the author in question and the nature of his accusation (3). Each chapter then begins with a detailed statement of the accusation, sometimes preceded by a brief biographical note about its author. The rest of the chapter is devoted to its refutation, in the course of which much valuable historical and biographical material is used. When an author has more than one accusation to make against the orthodoxy of the Maronites, a separate chapter is given to each. Thus, the first five chapters

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(1) *Ibid.*, p. 95-96. The Pope was Sergius I (Saint Sergius, 687-701).

(2) *Ibid.*, p. 6.

(3) Chapter IX (p. 368), for example, is entitled: *Fī ibṭāl daʿwa Jibrā'īl ibn al-Qilāʿī al-qā'il anna al-baṭriyark Lūqā tabiʿ maqālat Abūlīnārīyūs bi qurb sanat* 1300 (In refutation of the claim of Jibrā'īl ibn al-Qilāʿī who said that Patriarch Lūqā followed the heresy of Appolinaris around the year 1300).

are devoted to the evidence of Sa'īd ibn Baṭrīq, a tenth century patriarch of Alexandria (1), who was one of the earliest historians to write about the Maronites.

Only part of *Tārīkh aṭ-ṭā'ifa al-mārūniyya* is directly relevant to this study. The first part, *Nisbat al-Mawārina*, can only provide background material, since it is concerned with the origins of the Maronites until the eighth century. The second part (*Radd at-tuham...*) is, perhaps, the richest source for the religious and political history of the Maronites in the later Middle Ages; but its first five chapters (the refutation of Sa'īd ibn Baṭrīq) discuss the stand of the Maronites in the Christological controversies, and therefore deal with the same period as *Nisbat al-Mawārina*. It is with the sixth chapter (2) that we come to the discussion of men and events between the First Crusade and the Ottoman conquest. The last chapter with which this study will be concerned is the fourteenth (3), dealing with the events of the year 1494 (4).

The second work of Duwayhī which will be considered here is his general chronicle, known variously as *Tārīkh al-azmina* and *Tārīkh al-Muslimīn* (History of the Moslems) (5). Some of the manuscripts of this work cover the period between the rise of Islam and 1699 or 1703. Others start with 1094 or 1095, approximately with

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(1) Sa'īd ibn Baṭrīq (Eutychius), who became patriarch of Alexandria in 931 A.D., wrote a history of the world in which he spoke of the Maronites as followers of the Monothelite monk Mār Mārūn. See EUTYCHII PATRIARCHÆ ALEXANDRINI, *Annales*, edited by L. CHEIKHO, S. J. (Serie III, Tomus VI and VII of *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium, Scriptores Arabici*, Beirut 1906), I, p. 5, 12-13.

(2) DUWAYHĪ, *TTM*, p. 337 *et seq.*

(3) *Ibid.*, p. 412.

(4) The following chapter (*ibid.*, p. 425 *et seq.*) deals with the events of 1525, which are beyond the scope of these studies.

(5) Published by *al-Mashriq*, XLIV (1950) as a volume commemorating the diamond jubilee of the Université St. Joseph (Beirut), and entitled *Tārīkh al-azmina, 1095-1699 A.D.* (Beirut, 1951). It was edited with an introduction by Ferdinand Taoutel, S. J.

the beginning of the Crusades, and end with 1699 (1). The published edition follows the latter group of manuscripts.

Tārīkh al-azmina is completely different in structure and contents from *Tārīkh aṭ-ṭā'ifa al-mārūniyya.* It is a chronicle of the traditional type, relating the events year by year. The narrative is simple and uncritical and there are no polemics. It also differs from *Tārīkh aṭ-ṭā'ifa al-mārūniyya* in not being specifically a history of the Maronite church and community: it is a general chronicle of the history of the Near East with special reference to Lebanon and to the Maronites. Duwayhī, apparently, intended this special reference. He wrote in his introduction:

> When we went out in the year 1668 to look after the flocks with which we were entrusted, we found it wise... to collect some information about the countries in which we live from the books we came across. We meant to begin from the start of the Hijra, since the blessed father Yūḥannā Mārūn took possession of the see of Antioch in the year 685 of our Lord, which is the year 66 of the Hijra. So we took the decision and collected various information from the histories of the people of that age. But when we saw that most of the information was about foreign nations and that the part concerning [our] countries was meagre and wrongly dated, we decided... to start this history with the year 1100 of the Incarnation of our Lord the Saviour, because it was about then that the occupation of the coasts of these countries [by the Franks] took place (2).

This passage also indicates the approximate time at which Duwayhī began preparing his chronicle. The indication is confirmed in his autobiographical sketch, where he mentioned that he began compiling material for a book of history after he had been appointed bishop of Cyprus in 1668 (3). Ferdinand Taoutel, who edited the published edition of *Tārīkh al-azmina,* believes that Duwayhī started writing on May 2, 1669 (1080 A.H.) because this date appears in Latin on page 47 of the autograph manuscript which is found at Bkerke (4). This seems probable.

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(1) G. Graf, *op.cit.*, III, p. 370. For the manuscripts used by F. Taoutel in his edition, see *TA*, p. iv-vii.

(2) Duwayhī, *TA*, p. 1-2.

(3) Duwayhī, *TTMR*, p. 213.

(4) Duwayhī, *TA*, p. ii.

Tārīkh al-azmina is a simple and brief chronicle, and Duwayhī did not seek to explain in it historical causation or to preach a sermon. He merely related the main events of the successive years, and occasionally mentioned his sources. The work is not important as a general chronicle because it has little to add on the general history of the Near East; but it is of the first importance as a source for Lebanese and Maronite history. It is true that many of the years, especially those of the earlier and more obscure period in Lebanese history, are listed without a mention of Lebanon or of the Maronites; but Duwayhī found enough material to fill the gap in most of the years. With the later years Lebanese and Maronite history increases in proportion, and it becomes the dominant part of the chronicle for the Ottoman period. The material on the Maronites concerns their religious, their political, their social, and their economic history. For some of the years Duwayhī merely mentioned the death and replacement of a patriarch, bishop, or *muqaddam*, or the appointment of a new abbot. For others he wrote at length about the role played by the Maronites at a Church Council, or the effects of a plague or drought on their social and economic life. At times he used the same material as in *Tārīkh aṭ-ṭā'ifa al-mārūniyya*; but whereas there he used it as evidence in argument, in *Tārīkh al-azmina* he stated it simply as historical fact.

Other than his two histories, Duwayhī wrote a chronology of the Maronite patriarchs, *Silsilat baṭārikat aṭ-ṭā'ifa al-mārūniyya* (1). This work gives the chronological succession of the patriarchs of the Maronite church, with occasional biographical notes and some historical notes. It begins with the patriarchate of Yūḥannā Mārūn and ends with the accession of the author himself in 1670. The work opens with a short introduction, followed by a note on the circumstances under which Yūḥannā Mārūn supposedly succeeded the Monothelite Macarius as Patriarch of Antioch in 685 A.D. and

(1) Published by R. Shartūnī (who also published *TTM*) in *al-Mashriq*, I (1898) from a manuscript at the Bibliothèque Orientale (Beirut) and another at Dayr al-Luwayza (Lebanon).

received the pallium from Pope Sergius (1). The author then proceeded to enumerate Yūḥannā Mārūn's successors.

In writing about the patriarchs of the Crusader and the Mamluk periods, Duwayhī used the colophons and other notes found on old manuscript copies of the Gospels and other religious works (the Maronite scholia), and also the inscriptions on the walls or thresholds of the various mountain churches. As a rule, Maronite masons and copyists inscribed the names of their patriarch and the archbishop of their diocese on their completed works along with the date of completion, and the inscriptions they left helped Duwayhī in establishing his chronology. His errors, no doubt, are many, and some of the patriarchs he listed are legendary figures of no historical identity (2) ; but Duwayhī was aware of the shortcomings of his work. He even admitted having missed several patriarchs between the years 1130 and 1209 (3).

Duwayhī did not use the same pattern of history writing in all his works. In *Tārīkh al-azmina* he followed the traditional form of the Arabic chronicle, narrating events in chronological order, giving the year, and sometimes even the month and the day of each event. In *Silsilat baṭārikat aṭ-ṭā'ifa al-mārūniyya* he enumerated the patriarchs of the Maronite church in succession, giving dates and some biographical and historical notes. *Tārīkh aṭ-ṭā'ifa al-mārūniyya* differs from both in form, and it is more a discourse than a narrative. In the first part (*Nisbat al-Mawārina*), Duwayhī reviewed and refuted what earlier historians had written about the ecclesiastical and ethnical origins of his community, and followed this polemical survey with a statement of his own views on the subject. There is much narrative in this part, which is used merely as evidence to support, illustrate, and clarify the arguments. The second part (*Radd at-tuham...*) is in pure polemical form, each chapter starting

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(1) Duwayhī, *SB*, p. 249.

(2) G. Graf, *op.cit.*, III, p. 371: "Wie 'der erste Patriarch' so sind auch die folgenden bis zum 15. Jahrh. meistens Phantasiegestalten."

(3) Duwayhī, *SB*, p. 310-311.

with the challenged proposition and proceeding with the refutation. The narrative sections here are shorter than in *Nisbat al-Mawārina*, where they stretch over several chapters. They consist of passages of varying length within each chapter, which are used either to support the author's points or to indicate the grounds on which the opponents' points are based.

Duwayhī wrote in classical Arabic, but he did not write the language well. There is much colloquialism in his style, except for the passages copied or paraphrased from classical Arabic sources. Ferdinand Taoutel remarks in the introduction to *Tārīkh al-azmina* (1):

> The language... differs with the different narratives and their sources. When he translates William of Tyre, the Latin original appears through the Arabic form.... When he copies from Ibn al-Athīr and Abū'l-Fidā and the other Arabic historians, his language comes out powerful in style, of sound idiom, and in keeping with the rules of grammar. When he resorts to the history works of the Mamluk and Turkish periods, he adopts from them the foreign names for ranks of officials and weapons of war. When, however, he records the information collected from the Lebanese tradition, his language becomes very similar to the colloquial language, especially that which is used in the north [of Lebanon], with [many] extra-lexical terms.... There are many mistakes... in grammar and spelling which may have come either from the pen of the author or from those of copyists. Some of [those mistakes] could be explained if the colloquial dialect of northern Lebanon is taken into consideration, whereby the *dāl* (d) and the *ḍād* (ḍ) are both pronounced *ḍād* (ḍ)....

These peculiarities in Duwayhī's Arabic are not surprising. Duwayhī studied in Rome, where Latin was the language of instruction. Besides, his training for the Maronite priesthood must have required more concentration on Syriac than on Arabic, considering that Syriac was (and still is to a great extent) the liturgical language of the Maronite church.

Duwayhī frequently mentioned his sources, and he made extensive quotations from them in places. These sources may be divided into two groups: those from which he drew his Maronite history, and

(1) Duwayhī, *TA*, p. xiii.

those from which he drew his non-Maronite history. Of the first group, Duwayhī preferred the histories of the community written by its own leaders. In the introductory chapter of *Tārīkh aṭ-ṭā'ifa al-mārūniyya* he wrote:

> When the historian belongs to the leading ranks of the nation about which he writes, his word is accepted and he is preferred to others. This is because it requires care and diligence to study the ancient annals, and it takes a man of high position in learning and intelligence to use them and extract from them [the correct information]... (1).

Then he proceeded to speak of Jibrā'īl al-Adnītī (2), Jibrā'īl aṣ-Ṣihyawnī (3), and Ibrāhīm al-Ḥāqilānī — learned Maronites who reached high positions in Italy and France, and who discussed the origins of the Maronites and their perpetual orthodoxy, but who were not able to complete what they had set out to do because they had lived outside their country (4). Duwayhī finally spoke of the sources from which he collected his material:

> This is why we visited all the churches and monasteries we could, and examined every book we came across for [the information we were seeking]. We [also] collected what was available of the letters of the Popes which were sent to the patriarchs. And we examined all the books of the church. And we spoke of the history of Syria from the beginning of the Hijra to our own time on the basis of what we had seen in the books of the Christians and the Moslems (5).

The sources of Duwayhī's history of the Maronites can be subdivided into five groups: the older Maronite historians, the western chronicles and pilgrim and travel literature, the papal correspondence, the Maronite scholia and inscriptions, and the non-Maronite Eastern Christian histories and church books.

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(1) Duwayhī, *TTM*, p. 4.

(2) There is no mention of Jibrā'īl al-Adnītī in G. Graf's *GCAL*, and I have not been able to identify him otherwise. Duwayhī said that al-Adnītī had discussed the origin of the Maronites and their perpetual orthodoxy in an introduction to the Syriac Mass. Duwayhī, *TTM*, p. 5.

(3) Jibrā'īl aṣ-Ṣihyawnī (Gabriel Sionita) was born in Ihdin in 1577 and studied at the Maronite College in Rome. He died in Paris in 1648.

(4) Duwayhī, *loc.cit.*

(5) *Ibid.*, p. 5-6.

Of the Maronite authors to whom Duwayhī referred, Jibrā'īl al-Adnītī, Jibrā'īl aṣ-Ṣihyawnī, and Ibrāhīm al-Ḥāqilānī have already been mentioned (1); but the Maronite historian to whose works Duwayhī referred most for the history of the late mediæval period, and whom he quoted abundantly, was Ibn al-Qilā'ī. Another Maronite writer, whose claims Duwayhī refuted in a chapter devoted wholly for the purpose (2), was Tūmā al-Kafarṭābī (3). Fragments of old Maronite histories, mostly in Syriac, are occasionally mentioned and quoted by Duwayhī; and reference is also made to the history of Ilyās of M'ād.

Duwayhī used several types of Western historical works. The chronicles of the Crusader period were important: that of William of Tyre, which he quoted (4) and referred to on several occasions, and that of Jaques de Vitry (5) whom he called Ya'qūb Witrāk (6). The accounts of the pilgrims and travellers who had come to Syria and written about the Eastern Christians were another important source. Among those pilgrims and travellers was Burchard of Mount Sion, of whom Duwayhī spoke as having come to the Holy Land in 1222 and written a book about it (*Descriptio Terræ Sanctæ*) (7). Another was the "Frenchman Wilamo" who "came from his coun-

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(1) Gabriel Sionita and Abraham Ecchellensis were not historians. None of their original works, as cited by GRAF (*op.cit.*, III, p. 351-353, 354-358), are works of history. Duwayhī himself said (*TTM*, p. 5) that they had mentioned something about the origin of the Maronites in notes which they added to their writings on other subjects. The same applies to al-Adnītī (see above, p. 102, fn. 2).

(2) DUWAYHĪ, *TTM*, p. 337-350.

(3) See above, p. 44-46.

(4) DUWAYHĪ, *TTM*, p. 350-351. William of Tyre (c.1130-c.1183) was the archbishop of Tyre, and one of the best-known historians of the Crusades. See Bibliography.

(5) Jacques de Vitry (d. 1240) was a French cardinal and historian. See Bibliography; also R. GROUSSET, *op.cit.*, III, p. 197-201.

(6) DUWAYHĪ, *TTM*, p. 351 (from the Latin form, Jacobus Vitriacus).

(7) DUWAYHĪ, *TA*, p. 109. Burchard of Mount Sion has been translated into English: *A description of the Holy Land* (London, 1897).

try to visit the Holy Land and wrote a book about the well-known religions and venerated places in the East" (1). There were also the Western works of theology and Church history in which the Maronites were mentioned, like that of Arnaldus Albertinus, bishop of Patti, whose statement about the heretical origin of the Maronites was refuted by Duwayhī in *Radd at-tuham...* (2).

The letters for the Popes to the Maronite patriarchs were an important source for Duwayhī's history of the Maronites. He used them mainly to prove the unbroken attachment of the Maronites to the Holy See. In *Tārīkh aṭ-ṭā'ifa al-mārūniyya* he gave his own translations of two of those letters (3).

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(1) Duwayhī, *TTM*, p. 358. This "Frenchman Wilamo" may have been Guillaume Postel, the French visionary and philologian who visited Syria, Turkey, and Greece before 1539, and again in c.1549. Duwayhī (*ibid.*, p. 380) said that "Wilamo" had depended for his information about the Maronites on Arnaldus Albertinus (bishop of Patti, d.1544; see the footnote following), and that he gave the date 1414 to the return of the Maronites to union with Rome. However, I have not found any mention of the Maronites in the two descriptions of the Holy Land by Postel which I have been able to consult (*Syriæ descriptio*, 1540, and *Une brève description de la Terre Sainte avec sa charte*, in *La concordance des quatre Evangélistes...*, Paris 1562). In the former work he related a trip from Beirut to Jubayl, Batrūn, and Tripoli, which shows that he was acquainted with Maronite Lebanon. See F.J.T. Desbillons, *Nouveaux éclaircissements sur la vie et les ouvrages de Guillaume Postel* (Liège, 1773); D. Gustav Pfannmüller, *Handbuch der Islam-Literatur* (Berlin and Leipzig, 1923), p. 160; "Postel, Guillaume," in *La grande encyclopédie*.

(2) Arnaldus (or Hernando) Albertinus was born in Majorca. He was ordained bishop of Patti (in Sicily) in 1534, Emperor Charles V appointing him president of the royal council of Sicily in that same year. He died on October 7, 1544 and was buried in the cathedral at Patti. J. Fraikin, "Albertini (Hernando ou Arnaldo) évêque de Patti," in *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques*, I, p. 1590. I have not been able to see his "two books about the heresies and their authors" in which the Maronites are mentioned (Duwayhī, *TTM*, p. 380).

(3) The two letters which he translated were the bull of Innocent III to Irmiyā (*TTM*, p. 361-365) and that of Eugene IV to Yūḥannā al-Jājī, dated 1439 (*ibid.*, p. 393-395). Duwayhī's translations of the two documents are far superior to those of Ibn al-Qilā'ī.

Finally there were the Maronite scholia and inscriptions, which served Duwayhī as source material for those parts of his history which were most original. He gathered various information from such material: the names and dates of patriarchs, bishops, or abbots, or accounts of events not mentioned elsewhere. Jacobite and Melchite church works provided Duwayhī with some material for his history, but their mention is rare.

The main source on which Duwayhī relied for his history of non-Maronite Lebanon in the Crusader and Mamluk periods was the *Tārīkh* of Ibn Sibāṭ. Another historian whom Duwayhī quoted occasionally was Ibn al-Ḥarīrī whose work, *Muntakhab az-zamān fī tārīkh al-khulafā' wa'l-'ulamā' wa'l-a'yān,* has recently been lost (1). Very little information about the subject is found in general chronicles like those of Ibn al-Athīr and Abū'l-Fidā, which Duwayhī referred to in his general history of the Near East (2).

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The material provided by Duwayhī on the history of Lebanon during Crusader and Mamluk times is, like his sources, of two kinds: one dealing with non-Maronite (Moslem and Druze) Lebanon, and the other with Maronite Lebanon. These two "histories" will be dealt with separately. Duwayhī rarely attempted to link them together in his writings. He had them rather as two independent and seemingly unrelated narratives within the same works, differing in the degree of completion.

Duwayhī's history of non-Maronite Lebanon is to be found almost exclusively in *Tārīkh al-azmina.* It treats several unrelated groups of events, giving neither a complete picture of the structure of non-Maronite mediæval Lebanon nor a continuous historical

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(1) Aḥmad ibn 'Alī ibn al-Maghribī Aḥmad Ibn al-Ḥarīrī wrote *Muntakhab az-zamān...* in 926 A.H. (1520 A.D.). See C. Brockelmann, *Ceschichte der arabischen Literatur* , S. II (Leiden, 1938), p. 406. The work was available until recently in a unique manuscript at the Bibliothèque Orientale (Beirut).

(2) Duwayhī, *TA*, p. vii.

narrative. Duwayhī's choice of material here denotes no consistent purpose to explain important events and turning points or to show how a state of affairs came about. At times he appears to have picked his material at random in order to fill in the narrative of a year otherwise poor in events.

Duwayhī first mentioned non-Maronite Lebanon when he related the events of the year 1100. In that year, he said, while Baldwin of Edessa was advancing on the coastal route to inherit the crown of his brother Gaudefroy de Bouillon (1), the people of Beirut waylaid him at Nahr al-Kalb; but Baldwin triumphed over them and proceeded on his way to Jerusalem (2). In 1101, Duwayhī continued, Raymond of Toulouse left Antioch, occupied Ṭarṭūs (Tortosa), and sent word to King Baldwin that the people of Beirut, Tyre, Sidon, and Acre were holding the coastal route against him at Nahr al-Kalb; whereupon the King advanced to Nahr al-Kalb, helped Raymond cross the river, and accompanied him to Jerusa-

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(1) Gaudefroy de Bouillon died on July 18, 1100. See S. Runciman, *A history of the Crusades*, I, p. 314.

(2) Duwayhī, *TA*, p. 12. Fulcher of Chartres (Fulcherio Carnotensi), *Historia Iherosolymitana gesta Francorum Iherusalem peregrinantium*, *R.H.C. Occ.* (Paris, 1869), p. 373-374. S. Runciman, *op.cit.*, I, p. 323-324. William of Tyre, with whose history Duwayhī was familiar and on whom he probably relied here, gave the following account of the event (William of Tyre, *op.cit.*, I, p. 422-423): "The perilous way through this narrow defile [of Nahr al-Kalb] had been blocked so as to prevent its being crossed. For the natives of the locality, with the help of certain Turks from more distant parts, had combined at the point to hinder the march of Count Baldwin.... Dashing against them in a bold charge, he broke up their lines in the first onset, killed many of their number, and put the rest to flight." Ibn al-Qalānisī (*Dhayl tārīkh Dimashq*, Leiden 1908, p. 138-139) did not mention the role played by the people of Beirut in this encounter. Besides, he said that the Moslems were victorious. Ṭannūs ash-Shidyāq (*Akhbār al-aʿyān...*, p. 714) said that it was the emir of Beirut ʿAḍud ad-Dawla of the Arslans who led the ambush. See below, p. 180-182. H. Hagenmeyer ("Chronologie de la première Croisade, 1094-1100," in *ROL*, VIII, p. 366-369) supposes that the incident took place between the 23rd. and the 26th. of October, 1100.

lem where they celebrated Easter together (1). In relating this event, Duwayhī probably depended on William of Tyre who said that Baldwin, fearing that the march of Raymond and his men might be hindered at Nahr al-Kalb, went out with his forces to meet them and seized the pass beforehand (2). Shidyāq, writing in the nineteenth century, said that it was 'Aḍud ad-Dawla, the Arslānid emir of Beirut, who called the men of the coastal towns together to lie in ambush at Nahr al-Kalb against Baldwin in 1100 and against Raymond in 1101 (3).

Duwayhī passed over the half-century that followed and resumed the internal history of non-Maronite Lebanon with 1160. In that year, he said, Nūr ad-Dīn ibn Zengī (1146-1174), the atabeg of Syria, granted several villages in the Biqā', Wādī at-Taym, Sidon, and the Jird to the Tanūkhid (hence Buḥturid) (4) emir Zahr ad-Dawla Karāma ibn Buḥtur as an addition to his original *iqṭā'* in the Gharb. Nūr ad-Dīn also gave Karāma an allowance for the upkeep of forty horsemen to assist him in fighting the Franks. Duwayhī then mentioned Karāma's brother, 'Arf ad-Dawla, who held 'Aramūn al-Gharb (a village to the south of Beirut) (5).

The question of 'Arf ad-Dawla, the brother of Karāma ibn Buḥtur, involves a confusion betweem this 'Arf ad-Dawla and another real or supposed Arslānid emir by the same name (6). The career of Karāma himself is more clearly documented. Ibn Ḥajar (d. 1449) mentioned his constant struggles with the Franks of Beirut, adding that he received the whole Gharb in *iqṭā'* from Nūr ad-Dīn

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(1) DUWAYHĪ, *TA*, p. 13.

(2) WILLIAM OF TYRE, *op.cit.*, I, p. 422.

(3) SHIDYĀQ, *Akhbār al-a'yān...*, p. 714.

(4) The Buḥturids were a branch of the tribe of Tanūkh, so called after a Tanūkhid chieftain, Buḥtur (see below, p. 180). Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā called his family the Buḥturids of the Gharb (*al-umarā' al-buḥturiyyūn min banū al-Gharb*); but Duwayhī, Shidyāq, and others called them the Tanūkhids. I shall use the name "Buḥturids" throughout.

(5) DUWAYHĪ, *TA*, p. 63.

(6) See below, p. 190 *et seq.*

ibn Zengī (1). Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā, who believed that Karāma moved his residence to the fort of Sarḥammūr (modern Saraḥmūl) in the lower Gharb after Nūr ad-Dīn had taken over Damascus in 1154, cited two documents issued by Nūr ad-Dīn to Karāma which were found, apparently, among the Buḥturid family papers. The first of these is a *marsūm* (decree), dated Rabīʿ I 14, 552 A.H. (April 27, 1157 A.D.):

The intelligent emir of the Gharb Zahr ad-Dawla Mufīd al-Mulk Karāma, may God prolong his power and his safety, is our *mamlūk* and companion. Whoever obeys him obeys us; and whoever assists him in fighting the infidels does so to our pleasure and receives our thanks. Whoever disobeys him in this or rebels against him disobeys our orders, and is deserving of punishment for his rebellion (2).

The second document is a *manshūr* (deed granting an *iqṭāʿ*), dated Rajab 7, 556 (July 1, 1161):

When the emir Zahr ad-Dawla Shujāʿ al-Mulk Jamāl al-Umarāʾ Abūʾl-ʿIzz Karāma ibn Buḥtur at-Tanūkhī... travelled to [our] gate... and sought [our] service..., his demands were fulfilled and his requests answered; and this *manshūr* was issued for him to include the high consideration, respect, esteem, and honour in which we hold him, [and to assign to him] provisions to be specified from *dīwān al-istīfāʾ*... (3) [for the upkeep of] forty horsemen and whatever he may be able [to levy] for campaigns. [His *iqṭāʿ* shall include] most of the villages of the Gharb; and, from outside the Gharb: al-Qunayṭra from the Biqāʿ, Ẓahr Ḥmār (4) from Wādī at-Taym, Thaʿlabāyā, also from the Biqāʿ, Barjā

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(1) Ibn Ḥajar, *Ad-durar al-kāmina fī aʿyān al-miʾa ath-thāmina* (Hyderabad, A.H. 1348-1350), II, p. 54.

(2) Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā, *Tārīkh Bayrūt...*, p. 48-49.

(3) *Dīwān al-istīfāʾ* was the office of the *mustawfī*, a clerk who managed the affairs of *dīwān al-jaysh* (or *dīwān al-iqṭāʿ*), the department responsible for the grant and supervision of fiefs. For his various functions, see Ibn Mammātī, *Kitāb qawānīn ad-dawāwīn* (Cairo, 1943), p. 301; A. N. Poliak, *Feudalism in Egypt, Syria, Palestine, and the Lebanon* (London, 1939), p. 20; M. Quatremère, *Histoire des sultans mamlouks de l'Egypte* (Paris, 1837-1845), I, i, p. 202-205, n. 85.

(4) Ibn Sibāṭ, MS *Tārīkh*, p. 15, has it as aẓ-Ẓahr al-Aḥmar — a village in Wādī at-Taym.

from Sidon (1), B'āṣīr (2) ; also al-Ma'āṣir al-Fawqā' (3), ad-Dāmūr (4), Shārūn, Majdal Ba'nā, and Kafar'ammay (5).

Duwayhī, relying probably on Ibn Sibāṭ (6) (who gave the same information as Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā), gave the year of Karāma's investiture as 1160 instead of 1161. Not taking into consideration the month (Rajab) of the Hijra year 556, he merely gave the Christian year in which the Hijra year began. The year 556 A.H. began on December 31, 1160 (7).

On Jumādā I 27, 1186 A.D. (actually Jumādā I 29, 583 A.H. / August 6, 1187 A.D.) (8), Duwayhī continued, Ṣālāḥ ad-Dīn al-Ayyūbī (Saladin) took Beirut from the Crusaders and granted the neighbouring Gharb in *iqṭā'* to Karāma's son Jamāl ad-Dīn Ḥajjī (9). Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā had reported the incident in more detail: after the fall of Beirut, Saladin touched the head of Ḥajjī (who had helped in the siege of the city) and said: "Behold! We have taken your vengeance from the Franks (10); so let your heart

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(1) Barjā is a village in Iqlīm al-Kharrūb, north of Sidon. This district fell in the seigneurie of Sidon during the Crusader period; and in Mamluk times it fell in the *wilāya* of Sidon, a sub-province of the *mamlaka* of Damascus.

(2) B'āṣīr is a village in Iqlīm al-Kharrūb, near Barjā.

(3) Ma'āṣir al-Fawqā is a village in the Shūf.

(4) Ad-Dāmūr is a coastal town, south of Beirut.

(5) Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā, *op.cit.*, p. 49. Also J. Sauvaget, "Corrections...," p. 68. Ibn Sibāṭ, *loc.cit.*, added that the last three villages were in the Jird.

(6) Ibn Sibāṭ, *op.cit.*, p. 15-16.

(7) See W. Haig, *Comparative tables of Muhammadan and Christian dates* (London, 1932), p. 14.

(8) This is the date of the fall of Beirut to Saladin as given by Abū Shāma, *Kitāb ar-rawḍatayn fī akhbār ad-dawlatayn* (Cairo, 1871), p. 90. The wrong date given by Duwayhī is another example of how he did not take the exact date into consideration while changing Hijra into Christian dates.

(9) Duwayhī, *TA*, p. 88. Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā and Ibn Sibāṭ gave the date simply as Jumādā I, 583 (July-August 1187). See Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā, *op.cit.*, p. 51-52 and Ibn Sibāṭ, *op.cit.*, p. 42. It is not clear from where Duwayhī got his date (Jumādā I 27) for the fall of Beirut. The event is also mentioned in Ibn Ḥajar, *Ad-durar al-kāmina...*, II, p. 54-55.

(10) The Franks of Beirut had murdered Ḥajjī's brothers. See below, p. 200-202.

be comforted! You shall remain in the place of your father and your brothers!" A *manshūr* was issued to the emir at the time:

The emir Jamāl ad-Dawla Ḥajjī ibn Karāma [will be allowed to keep] what he already holds of the villages of ad-Dāmūr (1) in the mountain of Beirut.... It is his property, inherited from his father and his grandfather; and it [consists of]: Sarḥammūr, 'Ayn Ksūr, Ramṭūn (2), ad-Duwayr (3), Ṭirdalā, 'Ayn Drāfīl (4), and Kafar'ammay.... Written in the land of Beirut, in the last third of Jumādā I, 583 [July-August 1187] (5).

Another gap of over fifty years follows in Duwayhī's history of non-Maronite Lebanon. For the year 1242 he reported that two sons of Emir Ḥajjī, Najm ad-Dīn Maḥmūd (actually Muḥammad) and Sharaf ad-Dīn 'Alī, were killed in a place in Kisrawān called Thughrat al-Jawzāt (6). The sons of Ḥajjī, he added, were the first Buḥturid emirs of the Gharb to move their residence from Ṭirdalā to 'Ābay (7). Like Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā and Ibn Sibāṭ, Duwayhī did not explain why and under what circumstances the two emirs were killed. He gave the same date as they; but Ṣāliḥ and Ibn Sibāṭ added that they had taken their information from Buḥturid family records (8). Later on, Duwayhī mentioned that in 1252 al-Malik an-Nāṣir Yūsuf, the Ayyūbid ruler of Damascus (1250-1260), granted in *iqṭā'* several villages in the Gharb and the village of ad-Duwayr in the Jird to Jamāl ad-Dīn Ḥajjī's grandson, Jamāl ad-Dīn Ḥajjī (II) — the son of Najm ad-Dīn Muḥammad who was killed at Thughrat al-Jawzāt (9).

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(1) Ad-Dāmūr here refers to the coastal part of the district of the lower Gharb, later known as the Shaḥḥār.

(2) 'Ayn Ksūr and Ramṭūn are two villages in the lower Gharb.

(3) Ad-Duwayr is a village in the Shaḥḥār district.

(4) Ṭirdalā and 'Ayn Drāfīl are two villages in the Shaḥḥār. The former is at present in ruins.

(5) Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā, *op.cit.*, p. 51-52.

(6) Duwayhī, *TA*, p. 117. I have not been able to locate the place.

(7) 'Ābay is in the Shaḥḥār.

(8) Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā, *op.cit.*, p. 55; Ibn Sibāṭ, *op.cit.*, p. 121. They gave the date as Rabī' II 6, 640 (October 3, 1242).

(9) Duwayhī, *TA*, p. 125; Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā, *op.cit.*, p. 55-56; Ibn

This is all Duwayhī had to say about the history of non-Maronite Lebanon during the Crusader period. He resumed this history in the Mamluk period starting with 1276. In that year, he said, Sultan Baybars (1260-1277) ordered the imprisonment and destitution of Emir Jamāl ad-Dīn Ḥajjī II and his brother Sa'd ad-Dīn Khiḍr, whom he suspected of corresponding with the Franks of Tripoli (1). The arrest of the emirs must have taken place not in 1276 but between 1268 and 1270: according to Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā and Ibn Sibāṭ, they remained in prison for a period of seven to nine years (2), and they were released in 1278, soon after the death of Baybars, by his son and successor Baraka Khān (3). Ṣāliḥ and Ibn Sibāṭ mentioned a third Buḥturid chieftain who was imprisoned by Baybars at the time, Emir Zayn ad-Dīn ibn 'Alī, a cousin of the first two. The accusation brought against the emirs, they added, was false, and the letters which they had supposedly sent to the Frankish rulers of Tripoli had been forged by a member of the family of Abū'l-Jaysh, traditional enemies of the Buḥturids (4). Ṭannūs ash-Shidyāq gave the date 1270 to the forging of the correspondence and 1271 to the arrest of the three emirs (5). Relying on Ibn Sibāṭ, as Duwayhī had done, he made a better estimate of the date.

Duwayhī next related the raid on the Gharb in 1278 which followed the murder of a Mamluk official from Damascus (Quṭb ad-Dīn as-Sa'dī) in the village of Kafar'ammay. Quṭb ad-Dīn

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Sibāṭ, *op.cit.*, p. 132-133. Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā, who had seen the *manshūr* of an-Nāṣir Yūsuf to Ḥajjī, gave its date as Ṣafar 25, 650 (May 7, 1252). The villages which it granted to Ḥajjī were 'Aramūn, 'Ayn Drāfīl, Ṭirdalā, 'Ayn Ksūr, Ramṭūn, Qadrūn, Mratghūn, aṣ-Ṣabāḥiyya, Saraḥmūl, 'Aynāb, and ad-Duwayr.

(1) Duwayhī, *TA*, p. 139-140.

(2) Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā, *op.cit.*, p. 69; Ibn Sibāṭ, *op.cit.*, p. 185.

(3) Duwayhī, *TA*, p. 141; Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā, *op.cit.*, p. 71.

(4) Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā, *loc.cit.*; Ibn Sibāṭ, *op.cit.*, p. 184-189.

(5) Shidyāq, *Akhbār al-a'yān...*, p. 228-229. For a more elaborate discussion of this event and its significance see below, p. 212 *et seq.*

had taken that village in *iqṭā'* from the Buḥturids shortly before he was found killed there. Najm ad-Dīn Muḥammad (II), the son of Ḥajjī II, was accused of the murder; and, in consequence, Mamluk troops from Damascus, aided by tribesmen and soldiers from Baalbek, Sidon, and the Biqā', ravaged and burnt the Gharb. All this happened while Ḥajjī II and the other two Buḥturid emirs were still imprisoned in Egypt. In fact, it was soon after these events that Baraka Khān released them and restored their *iqṭā'* (1).

In *Tārīkh al-azmina*, Duwayhī related the fall of Tripoli to Qalāwūn under the year 1287 (2). He added, however, that the city had been taken by the Franks in 1109, and had remained under their rule for 180 years. This brings out the correct date (1289) for the fall of Tripoli (which Duwayhī also gave in *Tārīkh aṭ-ṭā'ifa al-mārūniyya*) (3). Under 1290 (actually 1291), he related the fall of Acre, Tyre, Sidon, Beirut, 'Athlīth, and Jubayl to al-Ashraf Khalīl ibn Qalāwūn (4), adding that the church of St. John in Beirut was turned into a mosque after the fall of the city and that its walls were covered with clay (5).

In the days of al-Ashraf Khalīl, Duwayhī continued, the *jund al-ḥalqa* (6) of Tripoli "left" (7). Duwayhī made a mistake here. He must have misunderstood the text of Ibn Sibāṭ on which he was

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(1) DUWAYHĪ, *TA*, p. 141. ṢĀLIḤ IBN YAḤYĀ, *op.cit.*, p. 75-77. Duwayhī gave the same date as Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā. I found no mention of this event outside the Lebanese sources.

(2) DUWAYHĪ, *TA*, p. 148.

(3) DUWAYHĪ, *TTM.*, p. 375.

(4) DUWAYHĪ, *TA*, p. 150-151.

(5) *Cf.* ṢĀLIḤ IBN YAḤYĀ, *op.cit.*, p. 39.

(6) The *jund al-ḥalqa* (or *ajnād al-ḥalqa*) were one of the three principal corps of the Mamluk army. They were a corps of free non-*mamlūk* cavalry —those knights who were in the sultan's service without being his freedmen. See David AYALON, "Studies on the structure of the Mamluk army," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* (1953), p. 203; A.N. POLIAK, *Feudalism...*, p. 2.

(7) DUWAYHĪ, *TA*, p. 152.

probably relying. Ibn Sibāṭ (1) had said that in 689 A.H., when al-Ashraf Khalīl succeeded his father and conquered Sidon and Beirut from the Franks, the *iqṭā'* of the Buḥturids, which Qalāwūn had transferred to the *jund al-ḥalqa* of Tripoli, was restored to them, and they were placed on the *darak* (watch) of Beirut (2). Duwayhī did not understand the term *kharaja al-iqṭā'* (the *iqṭā'* was revoked) which Ibn Sibāṭ had used, and he took it to mean "went out" or "left" (in its non-technical sense). According to Duwayhī, the restoration of the Buḥturid *iqṭā'* took place in 1293, "after the *ḥalqa* of Tripoli had left" (3). The Buḥturid emirs were then placed on the *darak* of Beirut in three relays of thirty horsemen each, and each relay was to keep the *darak* for one month under the supervision of the *ḥalqa* of Baalbek (which likewise took monthly turns in three relays). A watch-tower (*manẓariyya*) (4) was built for watching over the sea; and a horse post relay (5), carrier pigeon post, and a fire relay (6) were established for the swift dispatch of news to Damascus by day and night. All this was done in fear of Frankish attack (7) — a fear which may have been engendered by the successful naval raid on Beirut in 1291 by the Franks of Cyprus (8).

Duwayhī next dealt with the two great raids on Kisrawān in

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(1) Ibn Sibāṭ, *op.cit.*, p. 212-213.

(2) Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā, *op.cit.*, p. 78.

(3) Duwayhī, *TA*, p. 153. The date, as noted above, is really 1291. See Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā, *loc.cit.* Ṣāliḥ said that the event took place during the reign of al-Ashraf Khalīl; but he did not give the exact date. Ibn Ḥajar, *op.cit.*, II, p. 55, mentioned that the Buḥturid *iqṭā'* was confiscated by Qalāwūn, and later restored by al-Ashraf Khalīl after the conquest of the coastal towns.

(4) Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā, *op.cit.*, p. 40. It appears there as *manāẓiriyya*.

(5) The *barīd*. *Cf.* Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-a'shā...*, XIV, p. 382 for the *barīd* stages.

(6) The fire alarm was relayed across the mountains and hills from Beirut to Damascus in six stages.

(7) Duwayhī, *TA*, p. 153-154 ; see also Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā, *op.cit.*, p. 40-42; Ibn Sibāṭ, *op.cit.*, p. 212-214.

(8) Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā, *op.cit.*, p. 79.

1292 and 1305. After relating the fall of Tripoli to Qalāwūn in 1287 (actually 1289) in *Tārīkh al-azmina*, he said (quoting Ibn Sibāṭ) that Ḥusām ad-Dīn Lājīn, the *na'ib* of Damascus (1), wrote to the emirs Jamāl ad-Dīn Ḥajjī and Zayn ad-Dīn (Ṣāliḥ) ibn 'Alī asking them and their men to join Sunqur al-Manṣūrī (2) who was setting out to plunder Kisrawān and the Jird. The people of the Jird and Kisrawān, Duwayhī explained, had helped the Franks at the time of the conquest of Tripoli, hence the raid (3).

Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā, who had seen the letter sent by Lājīn to the two Buḥturid emirs, gave the following account of it: it was dated Jumādā I 7, 686 A.H. (June 20, 1287 A.D.), almost two years before the fall of Tripoli to Qalāwūn, and it instructed Jamāl ad-Dīn Ḥajjī and Zayn ad-Dīn (Ṣāliḥ) ibn 'Alī to rally with their men to the assistance of Shams ad-Dīn Sunqur al-Manṣūrī and the Mamluk army as soon as they received news of their advance against the Jird and Kisrawān. The letter also promised the payment of one dinar for every head of a Jirdī or Kisrawānī, and gave advance permission to the emirs of the Gharb and their men to keep as concubines or as slaves any Jirdī or Kisrawānī boy or girl whom they might capture (4). The letter did not, apparently, state the reasons for this raid. Ibn Sibāṭ, on whom Duwayhī relied, mentioned this letter without giving a date (5). The expedition in question,

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(1) Ḥusām ad-Dīn Lājīn al-Manṣūrī followed Sunqur al-Ashqar as *nā'ib* of Damascus in Ṣafar 679 (June 1280). He remained in office for 11 years and was followed by 'Izz ad-Dīn Aybak al-Ḥamawī in Shawwāl 691 (September 1292). H. LAOUST, *Les gouverneurs de Damas sous les Mamlouks et les premiers Ottomans* (Damascus, 1952), p. 6.

(2) Shams ad-Dīn Sunqur al-Manṣūrī al-A'sar, originally a *mamlūk* of Aydamur, the *nā'ib* of Damascus (670-676 A.H. / 1271-1277 A.D.), was made chief secretary (*shadd ad-dawāwīn*) in Damascus by Qalāwūn. He held several important offices under the successors of Qalāwūn, and died in 709 A.H. (1309-1310 A.D.). IBN ḤAJAR, *Ad-durar al-kāmina...*, II, p. 177-178.

(3) DUWAYHĪ, *TA*, p. 148-149.

(4) ṢĀLIḤ IBN YAḤYĀ, *op.cit.*, p. 58.

(5) IBN SIBĀṬ, *op.cit.*, p. 217-218.

however, which was planned in 1287, appears not to have taken place. The first Mamluk expedition against Kisrawān was in 1292.

In *Tārīkh aṭ-ṭā'ifa al-mārūniyya* Duwayhī related this expedition, giving its date as 1293 (1). In that year, he said, the sultan an-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn sent orders to Āqqūsh al-Afram, the *nā'ib* of Damascus (699-709 A.H. / 1300-1310A.D.) (2), to Asandamur, the *nā'ib* of Tripoli (3), to Sunqur al-Manṣūrī (actually Sunqurshāh al-Manṣūrī, the *nā'ib* of Ṣafad) (4), and to the emirs of the Gharb to join forces against the people of the Jird and Kisrawān; but the mountaineers "poured down" on the advancing troops and defeated them. Duwayhī probably depended here on the history of Ibn al-Ḥarīrī. There is express reference to Ibn al-Ḥarīrī in *Tārīkh al-azmina*, under the year 1302, where Duwayhī relates that Āqqūsh al-Afram, Asandamur, and Sunqur (Sunqurshāh) al-Manṣūrī advanced with their troops on the Jird and Kisrawān, but were badly defeated by the mountain chieftains and their men (5).

Actually, two expeditions were organized against Kisrawān and the Jird before the great expedition of 1305. The first was in July 1292, during the reign of al-Malik al-Ashraf Khalīl ibn Qalāwūn. In that year Baydarā, the *nā'ib as-salṭana* (viceroy) of Egypt, advanced along the coast with the greater part of his army and

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(1) Duwayhī, *TTM*, p. 376.

(2) Āqqūsh al-Afram was not *nā'ib* of Damascus in 1293. He succeeded Sayf ad-Dīn Qibjaq in this position in 699 A.H. (1300 A.D.), and was in turn succeeded ten years later by Qarāsunqur al-Manṣūrī. H. Laoust, *Les gouverneurs de Damas...*, p. 7. Also Ibn Ḥajar, *op.cit.*, I, p. 396-398.

(3) Asandamur, an important emir in Damascus, became *nā'ib* of Tripoli in 701 A.H. (1301-1302 A.D.), and later *nā'ib* of Ḥamā. He was killed in 721 A.H. (1321 A.D.). Ibn Ḥajar, *op.cit.*, I, p. 387-388.

(4) Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā (*op.cit.*, p. 32-33) mentions him as Shams ad-Dīn Sunqurshāh al-Manṣūrī, *nā'ib* of Ṣafad. Sunqurshāh al-Manṣūrī, an eminent emir in Damascus, became *nā'ib* of Ṣafad in 704 A.H. (1304-1305 A.D.) and died in this position in 707 A.H. (1307 A.D.). Ibn Ḥajar, *op.cit.*, II, p. 175.

(5) Duwayhī, *TA*, p. 160-161. The account of the victory of the *muqaddamīn* is a paraphrase of Ibn al-Qilā'ī. See above, p. 69 *et seq.*

attacked Kisrawān. He was met and routed by the mountaineers of the region. The emirs who accompanied Baydarā on this expedition accused him of having received bribes from the enemy; and he was met by the sultan on his return to Damascus and mildly rebuked for his failure (1). The second expedition took place during the second reign of an-Nāṣir Muḥammad. Soon after he was appointed *nā'ib* of Damascus, the emir Āqqūsh al-Afram set out on July 9, 1300 to avenge the defeat of 1292, accompanied by the *nuwwāb* (governors) of Ṣafad, Ḥamā, Homs, and Tripoli and their combined troops. There was fighting for six days, after which the mountaineers sued for peace. They were forced to surrender all the loot taken from the Mamluk army in 1292, and to pay a tribute of 100,000 dirhams (2).

Duwayhī was not aware that the expedition against Kisrawān and the Jird (which he dated 1293 and 1302 in *Tārīkh aṭ-ṭā'ifa al-mārūniyya* and *Tārīkh al-azmina* respectively) was in fact two expeditions. His mistake may have come from Ibn al-Ḥarīrī, on whose history Duwayhī relied for these events; but this cannot be definitely established because the history of Ibn al-Ḥarīrī is not available at present (3). In both his accounts Duwayhī related the expedition of 1292 (the one in which the Kisrawānīs were victorious) and named as its leaders those of the expedition of 1300. He also added that the two sons of Muḥammad ibn Karāma, Aḥmad

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(1) MAQRĪZĪ, *Sulūk...*, I, p. 779 (M. QUATREMÈRE, *Histoire des sultans mamlouks de l'Egypte*, II, i, p. 142). K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Mamlukensultane in den Jahren 690-741 der Hijra nach arabischen Handschriften* (Leiden, 1919), p. 20. ṢĀLIḤ IBN YAḤYĀ, *op.cit.*, p. 29-31. All three sources give the date as 691 A.H. Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā adds that the expedition took place in the month of Sha'bān (July 1292).

(2) MAQRĪZĪ, *op.cit.*, I, p. 902-903. K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN, *op.cit.*, p. 80-81. Both gave the date as Shawwāl 20, 699 (July 9, 1300). See also M. QUATREMÈRE, *op.cit.*, II, ii, p. 170-171. In his translation of Maqrīzī, Quatremère gave the amount of the tribute to be paid by the Kisrawānīs to the Mamluks as 200,000 dirhams.

(3) See above, p. 105, fn. 1.

and Muḥammad (actually the sons of Ḥajjī II ibn Muḥammad), were killed in the fighting against the Jirdīs and the Kisrawānīs (1), and that the mountaineers followed up their victory by burning several villages in the Gharb (2). It is interesting to note how Duwayhī attempted to combine the Moslem version of Ibn al-Ḥarīrī and the Maronite version of Ibn al-Qilā'ī (3) in both his accounts.

Duwayhī continued with the year 1304 (4). In that year, he said, Āqqūsh al-Afram sent the *sharīf* Zayn ad-Dīn ibn 'Adnān (5) on a mission to Kisrawān to reconcile the mountaineers of the region to the Buḥturids of the Gharb and to solicit their return to obedience. Later in that same year a second mission of conciliation was sent headed by Taqī'd-Dīn ibn Taymiyya (6) and the emir

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(1) These emirs, the sons of Jamāl ad-Dīn Ḥajjī ibn Muḥammad of the Buḥturs (not Muḥammad ibn Karāma, as Duwayhī said) were killed in the expedition of 1305. Ibn Sibāṭ, *op.cit.*, p. 229; Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā, *op.cit.*, p. 100. The two emirs were killed in Nībay, in Kisrawān, not in 'Ābay, in the Gharb, as Duwayhī has it (*TTM*, p. 376). Duwayhī's mistake here was probably due to the similarity between the names of the two villages.

(2) There is no mention outside Duwayhī of the burning of villages in the Gharb by the Jirdīs and the Kisrawānīs.

(3) Duwayhī took from Ibn al-Qilā'ī his account of the victory of the Lebanese *muqaddamīn*. See above, p. 69-72.

(4) Duwayhī, *TA*, p. 162. In *TTM* (p. 376-377) Duwayhī omitted the mission of the *sharīf* Zayn ad-Dīn ibn 'Adnān and that of Ibn Taymiyya to Kisrawān and proceeded directly with the expedition of 1305, which he related under the year 1307. See below, p. 119-120.

(5) Shidyāq (*Akhbār al-a'yān...*, p. 720) called him Zayn ad-Dīn Muḥammad ibn 'Adnān. The *sharīf* Zayn ad-Dīn (or Muḥyī 'd-Dīn, as Ibn Ḥajar called him) was at the time the *naqīb al-ashrāf* in Damascus. He was born in 1229 (626 A.H.). Ibn Ḥajar, *op.cit.*, IV, p. 47.

(6) Ibn Taymiyya (Aḥmad ibn 'Abd al-Ḥalīm, Taqī 'd-Dīn) was born in Ḥarrān in 661 A.H. (1263 A.D.) and died in Damascus in 727 A.H. (1328 A.D.). He was a theologian of the Ḥanbalite school, renowned for his asceticism. He was known, among other things, for his struggle against the heterodox Moslems of the mountains of Lebanon and the Nuṣayriyya. See H. Laoust, *Essai sur les doctrines sociales et politiques de Taki-'d-Dīn Ahmad B. Taimiya*,

Bahā' ad-Dīn Qarāqūsh (1). Both missions failed. The *'ulamā'*, therefore, produced a *fatwa* (juridical decision) urging the reduction by force of the Jird and Kisrawān because the people of those regions had routed the first Moslem expedition and refused to return to obedience. Troops were levied from every part of Syria, and preparations for a fresh expedition continued throughout the remainder of that year. Duwayhī did not fully understand why Ibn 'Adnān, Ibn Taymiyya, and Qarāqūsh had visited Kisrawān (in Dhū'l-Ḥijja 704 / June-July 1305) (2). One of their aims, he believed, was to reconcile the Jirdīs and the Kisrawānīs to the Buḥturid emirs of the Gharb. According to Ibn Sibāṭ (on whom Duwayhī here relied), the missions aimed at the *iṣlāḥ* (reform) of the Jird and Kisrawān (3), meaning the reform of their religious beliefs. Duwayhī used the same word *iṣlāḥ* to mean *ṣulḥ* (reconciliation, peace-making), and concluded that the visits (or missions) were, at least in part, attempts at a political reconciliation (4).

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canoniste hanbalite (Cairo, 1939). For his biography see *ibid.*, p. 11. AL-KUTUBĪ, *Fawāt al-wafayāt* (Būlāq, 1866), p. 49, gives his biography and enumerates his works.

(1) I could not identify this Bahā' ad-Dīn Qarāqūsh. MAQRĪZĪ (*op.cit.*, II, p. 12) called him Bahā' ad-Dīn Qarāqūsh al-Manṣūrī. He seems to have been an important emir in Damascus.

(2) ṢĀLIḤ IBN YAḤYĀ, *op.cit.*, p. 32; IBN SIBAT, *op.cit.*, p. 228; MAQRĪZĪ, *loc.cit.*

(3) IBN SIBĀṬ, *loc.cit.*

(4) For further discussion of this point see below, p. 217-219. As for Ibn Taymiyya, he was a vigorous opponent of heterodox Islam in both its doctrinal and political aspects. He preached and took part in the expedition against the Rāfiḍa, Nuṣayrīs, and Druzes of Kisrawān in 1305 (see H. LAOUST, *op.cit.*, p. 124-125, for a discussion of Ibn Taymiyya's attitude towards the heretical Moslems of Kisrawān). In his book *Kitāb minhaj as-sunna...*, he attacked both the doctrinal beliefs and the perfidious politics of the Rāfiḍa and their likes. He accused them of having assisted the pagan Tartars and the Christian Franks against the Moslems "in the fourth and seventh centuries." He also accused them of considering religions as political parties and schools of thought of which any may be followed, and of corrupting good Islamic beliefs. See IBN TAYMIYYA, *Kitāb minhaj as-sunna an-nabawiyya fī naqḍ kalām ash-shī'a wa'l-qadariyya* (Būlāq, 1903), p. 2-5.

During the late Crusader and early Mamluk periods, the Jird and parts of Kisrawān (1) were inhabited by Mitwālīs (Rāfiḍa, or Twelver Shī'a), Nuṣayrīs, and Druzes (2) — heterodox Moslem groups, hostile to their Sunnī (or orthodox) Moslem surroundings. These groups had found in the mountain regions of central Lebanon an almost impregnable refuge from persecution and an ideal base for raids and guerilla warfare. While the Sunnī state was occupied in fighting the Franks and the Mongols, the heterodox Moslems of central Lebanon achieved internal independence. They even lent a hand to the Franks and the Mongols on occasions, because it was to their interest that the Sunnī state should remain involved with its enemies. Thus in 1300, a few years before they were finally reduced to obedience, they harassed the Moslem troops fleeing through Lebanon before the Mongols, and thereby incurred the wrath of the Mamluk government (3).

After the fall of the last Crusader possessions to al-Ashraf Khalīl in 1291, an expedition (which had apparently been planned by Qalāwūn before the fall of Tripoli) was sent to reduce the rebel population of the Jird and Kisrawān. The expedition failed badly. A second expedition (that of 1300) was more successful; but its effects did not last. In the year 704 A.H. (1304-1305 A.D.) a revolt against Mamluk rule broke out in the two regions (4). All attempts at conciliation failed. Ibn Taymiyya, the great Ḥanbalite jurist who had himself led a mission of conciliation, preached the reduction of the rebels and wrote to the different parts of Syria calling upon the faithful to join the campaign for the purpose (5). Duwayhī

(1) Kisrawān in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries seems to have included large parts of what later became the province of the Matn. Many villages which fell in the Matn in the early nineteenth century (at the time of Shidyāq) were mentioned by Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā and Ibn al-Qilā'ī among the villages of Kisrawān.

(2) H. Lammens, *La Syrie...*, II, p. 13-14; H. Laoust, *op.cit.*, p. 59.

(3) Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā, *op.cit.*, p. 32, quoting Nuwayrī and Kutubī.

(4) H. Laoust, *op.cit.*, p. 60.

(5) *Ibid.*, p. 124-125.

related this third expedition under the year 1307, citing Ibn al-Ḥarīrī and Ibn Sibāṭ as references (1). It actually took place in 1305 (2). The people of the Jird, he said, led by Druze emirs (the Billama'ʿs) (3), were badly defeated by Āqqūsh al-Afram and his troops at Ṣawfar (a village in the Jird, on the road to Damascus) (4). The mountaineers fled to Kisrawān, followed by the Mamluk troops who ravaged the countryside, destroyed the churches (5), and uprooted the vineyards on their way. By Jumādā II 18, 605 (January 5, 1306) the Jirdīs and Kisrawānīs were utterly crushed (6), and their country was given in *iqṭāʿ* to Mamluk emirs from Damascus (7). Later in that same year (8), the Āl ʿAssāf Turkomans (9) were settled on the coast of Kisrawān, and were

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(1) Duwayhī, *TA*, p. 163. In *TTM*, p. 377, Duwayhī quoted the date from Ibn Sibāṭ as 1307 (707 A.H.). Actually Ibn Sibāṭ gave the date as 705 A.H. (*op.cit.*, p. 228-229). It is not clear why Duwayhī copied the date wrongly.

(2) Maqrīzī, *op.cit.*, II, p. 14; Quatremère, *op.cit.*, II, ii, p. 252-253. Maqrīzī said that the expedition set out on Muḥarram 2, 705 (July 25, 1305). In Quatremère's translation the date appears as Muḥarram 8 (July 31). Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā gave the date as Muḥarram 2 (*op.cit.*, p. 32). Duwayhī gave it as Muḥarram 2, 1307. Ibn Sibāṭ (*loc.cit.*) had given it as Muḥarram 2, 705.

(3) See above, p. 74. Tādrus of Ḥamā, *op.cit.*, p. 86.

(4) *Cf.* Shidyāq, *op.cit.*, p. 261.

(5) None of the Moslem historians mentioned the destruction of churches in the expedition.

(6) The battle, according to Maqrīzī (*op.cit.*, II, p. 15, and Quatremère, *op.cit.*, II, ii, p. 253) lasted eleven days.

(7) Ibn Sibāṭ, *op.cit.*, p. 229; Maqrīzī, *loc.cit.* (Quatremère, *op.cit.*, II, ii, p. 254). For accounts of this expedition see Maqrīzī, *op.cit.*, II, p. 14-15 (Quatremère, *op.cit.*, II, ii, p. 252-254); Abū'l-Fidā, *Annales Muslemici*, V, p. 198; Ibn Ḥabīb, *Tadhkirat an-nabīh...*, f.54v-55r; Ibn Ḥajar, *Ad-durar al-kāmina...*, I, p. 397. See also H. Lammens, *La Syrie...*, II, p. 15-16; H. Laoust, *op.cit.*, p. 60.

(8) Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā (*op.cit.*, p. 42) gave the date as 706 A.H. (1306-1307 A.D.).

(9) See below, p. 220. These Turkomans became known as Banū ʿAssāf (or Āl ʿAssāf) in Ottoman times.

assigned the *darak* (watch) of the part of the coast which lay between Anṭilyās (north-east of Beirut) in the south and the bridge of al-Muʿāmaltayn (on the frontier of the *mamlaka* of Tripoli) in the north (1). One of their duties was to check the passports of all those who crossed the coastal road at Nahr al-Kalb; and the only passports valid were those signed by the *mutawallī* (2) of Beirut or the emirs of the Gharb (3).

With the success of the third expedition against Kisrawān and the settlement of the Turkomans (the Banū ʿAssāf of Ottoman times) on its coast, the period of full Mamluk domination in Lebanon began. The first event of this period which Duwayhī mentioned was the *rawk* (*iqṭāʿ* redistribution) of 1313 in Syria and Egypt (4) (actually, only in Syria) (5). Duwayhī did not mention here how the Buḥturids of the Gharb were affected by the *rawk* nor how they reacted to it, although one of his main sources, the history of Ibn Sibāṭ, dwells on the subject at length (6). In the year 1315, he

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(1) Jisr al-Muʿāmaltayn (the bridge of al-Muʿāmaltayn) does not appear to have been so called before Ottoman times, when it served as a frontier post between the *muʿāmala* (governorship) of Tripoli and that of Sidon. Duwayhī (*TA*, p. 164) noted that it was originally called Jisr ad-Dākhila because it fell in the district of Kisrawān ad-Dākhila (Inner Kisrawān). Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā (*op.cit.*, p. 33, 42) and Ibn Sibāṭ (*op.cit.*, p. 214) called it Maghārat al-Asad (the Lion's Cave).

(2) The *mutawallī*, under the Mamluks, administered the *wilāya*, a second grade subdivision of the *mamlaka* or province (the first grade subdivision was called a *niyāba*). Beirut, at the time, was the administrative centre of a *wilāya* (the *wilāya* of Beirut) in the northern march (*aṣ-ṣafaqa ash-shimāliyya*) of the *mamlaka* of Damascus. The administrative centre of the *ṣafaqa* was Baalbek. See M. Gaudefroy-Desmombynes, *La Syrie...*, p. 74; Al-ʿUmarī, *Taʿrīf...*, p. 179; Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ...*, p. 110-111.

(3) Duwayhī, *TA*, p. 163-164; *TTM*, p. 377-378.

(4) Duwayhī, *TA*, p. 167. See below, p. 220 *et seq.*

(5) A. N. Poliak, *Feudalism...*, p. 24: "There were three *rawks*: *al-rawk al-ḥusāmī* in Egypt in 1298; *al-rawk al-nāṣirī* in Syria, Palestine, and the Lebanon in 1313; *al-rawk al-nāṣirī* in Egypt in 1315."

(6) Ibn Sibāṭ, *op.cit.*, p. 245-250.

continued, the Buḥturid emir Nāṣir ad-Dīn al-Ḥusayn (1269-1350) (1) built in 'Ābay an imposing mansion complete with tower, bath, garden, and water supply (2).

A gap follows until 1333 (really 1334: Dhū'l-Ḥijja 734 A.H.)(3). For that year Duwayhī reported an attack on Beirut by a Genoese naval squadron. There was fighting in the city for two days; and the Genoese managed to capture a Catalan ship which lay anchored in the harbour, and also the royal standards from the tower (*burj*) of Beirut. The *nā'ib* of Damascus Tankīz (4) blamed the emirs of the Gharb and the Turkomans of Kisrawān for this failure, which he attributed to their poor vigilance, and he sent after them and had them punished (5).

In 1344, Duwayhī continued, the Biqā' chieftain Ibn Ṣubḥ raided Wādī at-Taym and set fire to thirteen villages there (6). Duwayhī gave no further details about this event. Shidyāq, however, added that the emir of Wādī at-Taym then was Ḥusayn ibn Sa'd of the Shihābs. The Mamluk government suspected the

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(1) Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā, *op.cit.*, p. 129. Under al-Ḥusayn the supremacy of the Buḥturids over the other feudal families in southern Lebanon became fully established, lasting until the Ottoman conquest.

(2) Duwayhī, *TA*, p. 168. The house was not built in that year. Work on it was begun by al-Ḥusayn's father, Sa'd ad-Dīn Khiḍr, in 1294; and it was not completed until 1350. Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā, *op.cit.*, p. 112.

(3) Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā, *op.cit.*, p. 101-102; Ibn Sibāṭ, *op.cit.*, p. 271-272.

(4) Tankīz (Sayf ad-Dīn Abū Sa'īd), formerly a *mamlūk* of al-Ashraf Khalīl, was appointed *nā'ib* of Damascus in Rabī' II, 712 (August 1312). As *nā'ib* of Damascus, he became a very powerful figure and ruled the province almost independently. He was finally removed from office and put under arrest on Dhū'l-Ḥijja 23, 740 (June 20, 1340). He died, probably poisoned, early in the following year, just over the age of 60. Ibn Ḥajar, *Ad-durar al-kāmina...*, I, p. 520-527; H. Laoust, *Les gouverneurs de Damas...*, p. 8-9.

(5) Duwayhī, *TA*, p. 172.

(6) *Ibid.*, p. 177. I have found nothing about this particular Ibn Ṣubḥ outside the Lebanese sources. Ibn Ṭūlūn, however, frequently mentioned the chieftains of the Biqā' of the tenth Hijra century who belonged to this family. See H. Laoust, *Les gouverneurs de Damas...*.

allegiance of this Ḥusayn and therefore incited the chieftains of the Biqā' against him (1).

In relating the events of 1345, Duwayhī said (quoting Ibn Sibāṭ) that the Mamluk government ordered ships to be built in Beirut in that year because of the fear of a naval attack from Cyprus. Baydamur al-Khwārizmī (2) was appointed to supervise the project, and the local emirs (both the Buḥturids of the Gharb and the Turkomans of Kisrawān) were ordered to move their homes to Beirut and assist the Mamluk troops from Syria (*'askar ash-Shām*) in guarding the coast (3). According to Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā, the ship-building project was started by the great emir Yilbughā (4) following the naval raid on Alexandria by the Franks of Cyprus on Muḥarram 13, 767 (October 1, 1365)(5). It is not clear why Duwayhī related the event under a wrong date. The project, Ṣāliḥ added, was left unfinished after Yilbughā's death in Rabi' II, 768

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(1) Shidyāq, *Akhbār al-a'yān...*, p. 48-49.

(2) Baydamur al-Khwārizmī (Sayf ad-Dīn) was appointed *nā'ib* of Aleppo in 760 A.H. (1359 A.D.). In the following year he was transferred to the same office in Damascus, which he assumed on Sha'bān 29, 761 (July 15, 1360). He held this position, with five interruptions, until 788 A.H. (1386 A.D.). He died in prison, in the citadel of Damascus, in 789 A.H. (1387 A.D.). Ibn Ḥajar, *op.cit.*, I, p. 513-514; H. Laoust, *op.cit.*, p. 13-14, 15; Gaston Wiet, *Les biographies du Manhal Ṣāfī, mémoires présentés à l'Institut d'Egypte*, XIX (1932), No. 729.

(3) Duwayhī, *TA*, p. 178. *Cf.* Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā, *op.cit.*, p. 34-35.

(4) Duwayhī also mentioned Yilbughā as the man responsible for the project. Yilbughā ibn 'Abdallāh al-Khāṣṣakī an-Nāṣirī, an emir of a thousand under an-Nāṣir Ḥasan (1347-1351, 1354-1361), led a conspiracy against the sultan and had him killed. In 1363 he deposed his successor al-Manṣūr Muḥammad and placed al-Ashraf Sha'bān (1363-1376) on the throne. For three years Yilbughā was the real master of Egypt, until he was killed at the orders of the sultan in December 1366. Ibn Ḥajar, *op.cit.*, IV, p. 438-440.

(5) The Frankish fleet left Cyprus on October 4, 1365 and reached Alexandria on October 9. The governor of the city was absent on a pilgrimage and his deputy, Jangharā, was not able to conduct a proper defence. The Franks landed on the following day. The city was taken by storm and plundered for three days. Many buildings and houses were burnt down, and many of the inhabitants

(December 1366) (1).

In 1355, Duwayhī continued, Frankish ships raided Sidon. Many were killed on both sides, and the government of Damascus had to pay a great deal to ransom those whom the Franks captured (2). Duwayhī then mentioned under the year 1373 that ar-Rammāḥ, the chief of the *Khāṣṣakiyya* (3) (actually Ṭubṭuq ar-Rammāḥ, the *mu'allim al-jāmikiyya* or paymaster general) (4) received the concession of the *fiṭra* (the Ramaḍān meals' tax) for the Gharb district. The Buḥturid emir Zayn ad-Dīn Ṣāliḥ ibn Khiḍr, however, managed to get the concession annulled (5). According to Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā (6), it was Ṭubṭuq himself who introduced the *fiṭra* as a tax in that year. The concession for this tax, he added, was given to other officials in the early fifteenth century, only to be annulled again.

Next came the events in Lebanon which followed the temporary dethronement of al-Malik aẓ-Ẓāhir Barqūq in 1389-1390 and

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were put to the sword. On October 16, the Franks evacuated the city. See Sir George HILL, *A history of Cyprus*, II, *The Frankish period, 1192-1432* (Cambridge, 1948), p. 330-334. IBN IYĀS (*Badā'i' az-zuhūr fī waqā'i' ad-duhūr*, Cairo 1311 A.H., I, p. 217), who related the event and gave the date as Ṣafar 13 (October 29), said that after the sack of Alexandria by the Franks Yilbughā ordered the building of ships in Alexandria for a naval expedition against Cyprus. IBN ḤAJAR (*op.cit.*, IV, p. 438) also said that Yilbughā ordered 100 ships to be built for a retaliatory attack on Cyprus. As far as I know, Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā was the only historian who mentioned the building of ships in Beirut at the time.

(1) ṢĀLIḤ IBN YAḤYĀ, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

(2) ṢĀLIḤ IBN YAḤYĀ (*op.cit.*, p. 34) related the event without giving a date. IBN SIBĀṬ (*op.cit.*, p. 301) gave the date 757 A.H. Duwayhī related the event in *TA*, p. 183.

(3) The *khāṣṣakiyya* were a *corps d'élite* of the Mamluk sultan's personal guard, who served in the palace and the royal stable and accompanied the sultan on ceremonial occasions. See M. GAUDEFROY-DESMOMBYNES, *La Syrie...*, p. xxxiii, 1.

(4) ṢĀLIḤ IBN YAḤYĀ, *op.cit.*, p. 167, 192.

(5) DUWAYHĪ, *TA*, p. 186. The event is related by IBN SIBĀṬ, *op.cit.*, p. 304.

(6) ṢĀLIḤ IBN YAḤYĀ, *loc.cit.*

his replacement by Ḥajjī (1). Referring to Ibn Sibāṭ (2), Duwayhī said that Barqūq sent troops from Egypt in 1388 to put down the rebellion in Syria of Yilbughā an-Nāṣirī (3) and Timurbughā Minṭāsh (4). The rebel emirs, assisted by the Mamluk troops in

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(1) Duwayhī, *TA*, p. 189-190. Duwayhī related both the dethronement and the restoration of Barqūq under 1388.

(2) Ibn Sibāṭ, *op.cit.*, p. 316-318.

(3) Sayf ad-Dīn Yilbughā an-Nāṣirī was *nā'ib* of Aleppo under aṣ-Ṣāliḥ Ḥajjī (1381-1382), the last of the Baḥrī Mamluk sultans. When Barqūq came to the throne in 1382 he had him removed from office and imprisoned in Alexandria, then reinstated as *nā'ib* of Aleppo in 1388. Later in that year, on hearing that Barqūq had sent an order by the *barīd* to have him again removed from office, he rebelled, made himself complete master of Aleppo by occupying its fort, and approached the other emirs of Syria to join him in rebellion. Having won the support of the Syrian emirs and defeated the Egyptian army near Damascus (in 1389), Yilbughā proceeded to Egypt and reached Cairo early in Jumādā II, 791 (May 1389). Barqūq was dethroned and imprisoned in the fortress of al-Karak (Transjordania), and Yilbughā placed Ḥajjī back on the throne with the title of al-Malik al-Manṣūr. After that, Yilbughā was himself defeated in battle and imprisoned by the emir Minṭāsh, a former ally, who now became practically the ruler of the Mamluk empire (see the following footnote). In 1390, however, Barqūq escaped from his prison, defeated Minṭāsh at Shaqḥab, and returned to the throne. Yilbughā was released from prison and reinvested with the *niyāba* of Aleppo. In Sha'bān of that year (July 1390) he was transferred to the *niyāba* of Damascus. The following year he was killed in Aleppo at the orders of the Sultan. Ibn Ḥajar, *Ad-durar al-kāmina...*, IV, p. 440-442. H. Laoust, *Les gouverneurs de Damas...*, p. 16. For his death see Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' az-zuhūr...*, I, p. 296.

(4) Timurbughā Minṭāsh al-Ashrafī, known generally as Minṭāsh, was originally a *mamlūk* of al-Ashraf Sha'bān (1363-1376). In 1386 Barqūq appointed him *nā'ib* of Malaṭiya, a sub-province of Aleppo on the Anatolian border. There he rebelled against Barqūq and was defeated by Yilbughā, the *nā'ib* of Aleppo. Later, in 1389, he joined Yilbughā in the rebellion against Barqūq. After the overthrow of Barqūq and the restoration of Ḥajjī, Minṭāsh turned against Yilbughā, defeated him, and had him imprisoned in Alexandria. The following year Minṭāsh was himself defeated by Barqūq, who had escaped from prison. After Barqūq had reestablished himself as sultan, he besieged Minṭāsh in Damascus. Minṭāsh was forced to flee and join Na'īr, a Bedouin emir who had joined the rebellion against Barqūq. With the help of Na'īr, he defeated Barqūq's

Syria, the Arab tribes (1), and the people of the Jird and Kisrawān (2), defeated the Sultan's army. Its commander, Jarkas al-Khalīlī (3), was killed. The victors then advanced against Egypt, overthrew Barqūq and imprisoned him in al-Karak (in Transjordan), and placed Ḥajjī back on the throne (4). These events were followed in Lebanon by troubles between the Buḥturid emirs of the Gharb who supported Barqūq (5), and the Turkoman emirs (6) and other clans of Kisrawān (7) who supported

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army at Homs, but failed in his attempts to take Aleppo. In 1391 he attacked Damascus alone and was defeated; so he returned to Na'īr. Approached by Barqūq with many promises, Na'īr betrayed Minṭāsh and handed him over to the Sultan, who had him imprisoned in Aleppo. There Minṭāsh remained until he was executed in 1393. His head was paraded in Cairo and hung on Bāb Zawila. IBN ḤAJAR, *op.cit.*, IV, p. 364-366.

(1) Yilbughā approached the emirs of Syria (including Minṭāsh) to join in rebellion against Barqūq. See above, p. 125, fn. 3. Na'īr, one of the most powerful Bedouin chieftains in Syria, joined Yilbughā in the rebellion. See the previous footnote.

(2) Duwayhī, relying on Ibn Sibāṭ, mentioned the Jirdīs and the Kisrawānīs among the allies of Yilbughā. The Mamluk chronicles make no mention of them, although it is very possible that they did join Yilbughā's rebellion. See below, p. 128.

(3) Jarkas ibn 'Abdallāh al-Khalīlī, a *mamlūk* of Turkoman origin, was a powerful emir in Egypt during the first reign of Barqūq. He was made emir of 1000 and raised to the positions of *amīr akhūr* (constable) and *mushīr ad-dawla* (commander in chief?) by the Sultan. He was killed in battle outside Damascus in 1389. IBN ḤAJAR, *Inbā' al-ghumr fī anbā' al-'umr* (MS Brit. Mus. 7321), f.70r. The battle between the Sultan's troops and the rebels in which Jarkas was killed was fought on Rabī' I 11, 791 (March 10, 1389). IBN ḤAJAR, *Ad-durar al-kāmina...*, IV, p. 441.

(4) Barqūq was dethroned and Ḥajjī restored on Jumādā II 5, 791 (June 1, 1389). IBN IYĀS, *op.cit.*, I, p. 274.

(5) The Mamluk chronicles do not mention the help which the Buḥturid emirs of the Gharb offered Barqūq.

(6) Duwayhī and Ibn Sibāṭ called the Turkoman emirs of Kisrawān *awlād al-a'mā* (sons of the blind man). The emirs became known in Ottoman times as Banū 'Assāf. See below, p. 220.

(7) Duwayhī and Ibn Sibāṭ called the Kisrawānīs *'ushrān al-barr, ahl Kisrawān.*

Yilbughā and Minṭāsh. When the latter defeated Barqūq, said Duwayhī, the Turkomans and their Kisrawānī followers took heart and attacked Beirut and the Gharb. Some ninety Buḥturid emirs were killed, several villages were set on fire (among them 'Aynāb, 'Ayn 'Unūb, Shimlāl — or Shimlān — and 'Aytāt), and the Beirut properties of the Buḥturid emirs were plundered. The situation, however, soon changed. Barqūq escaped from al-Karak, rallied his forces, and made himself master of Syria. His troops then advanced against the Turkomans of Kisrawān and dealt them a crushing defeat at Jūrat Minṭāsh, in Zūq Mikhā'īl (on the Kisrawān coast, just north of Nahr al-Kalb). Two of the Turkoman emirs, 'Alī and his brother 'Umar, were killed in the fighting, and the Turkoman villages were plundered (1). Soon after, Barqūq defeated Minṭāsh and regained his throne (2). Duwayhī's account of these events differs little from that of Ibn Sibāṭ, except that the latter laid more stress on the relations between Barqūq and the emirs of the Gharb. Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā had also written about these events at length, giving the correct year of Barqūq's dethronement: 791 A.H. (1389 A.D.) (3). Duwayhī related all these events under the year 1388 (790 A.H.) (4).

Only Lebanese sources mention the Buḥturid emirs of the Gharb and the Turkoman emirs and other clans of Kisrawān in connection with Barqūq's overthrow and his return to the throne. It was not unusual for rival Lebanese clans to take sides in the Mamluk power struggles. In this particular instance the Buḥturids chose to remain loyal to the dethroned sultan, which ultimately turned out to their benefit. Their rivals, the Turkomans of Kisrawān,

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(1) Ibn Sibāṭ gave the date 792 A.H. (1390 A.D.) to this event which is not mentioned in the Mamluk chronicles.

(2) Barqūq was restored to the throne on Ṣafar 14, 792 (February 1, 1390). IBN IYĀS, *op.cit.*, I, p. 290.

(3) ṢĀLIḤ IBN YAḤYĀ, *op.cit.*, p. 195-198.

(4) For these events see IBN ḤAJAR, *Inbā' al-ghumr...*, f.67r-72v; IBN IYĀS, *op.cit.*, I, p. 270-290.

may well have been among the emirs who responded to Yilbughā's call (1) and joined the rebellion against Barqūq. Yilbughā may also have attracted to his side the malcontents of the Jird and Kisrawān: the heterodox Moslem clansmen who were chronically in disfavour with the central government, and whose ancestors had suffered at the hands of the Mamluk state in 1300 and 1305. If that was the case, it is not surprising to find Barqūq reasserting his authority over the region after his final victory.

Duwayhī did not have much to say about internal events in non-Maronite Lebanon during the Burjī Mamluk period (1382-1516) after the restoration of Barqūq. He reported the death of the Buḥturid emir 'Izz ad-Dīn Ṣadaqa ibn Sharaf ad-Dīn 'Īsā in 1445 (actually 1444), adding that the Emir had been "a man of great authority [who] ruled from the frontiers of Tripoli to the frontiers of Ṣafad with the consent of the *mutawallī* of Sidon and Beirut" (2); and he also noted the enmity between this Ṣadaqa and the al-Ḥamrā emirs who had come from the Biqā' to live in Beirut(3). For the year 1482 (4), he reported the growing power of the Banū al-Mustarāḥ (a Mitwālī clan) in Jibbat al-Munayṭra, where they took over the *mashyakha* (chieftainship) from their fellow Mitwālīs, the Banū Qaṣṣāṣ. The rapacity of the new chieftains forced the bishop Sim'ān ibn Ẓarīfa to leave al-Munayṭra and seek refuge in al-'Āqūra.

The earliest mention of the Ma'nids in Duwayhī comes under the year 1505 (5). In that year, he said, the *nā'ib* of Damascus (6)

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(1) See above, p. 125, fn. 3.

(2) Duwayhī, *TA*, p. 208. *Cf.* Ibn Sibāṭ, *op.cit.*, p. 343-345. Ṣadaqa was himself the *mutawallī* of Beirut and of Sidon. See Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā, *op.cit.*, p. 226; Ibn Sibāṭ, *loc.cit.*

(3) See below, p. 231.

(4) Duwayhī, *TA*, p. 217.

(5) *Ibid.*, p. 226.

(6) The *nā'ib* of Damascus in 1505 was Arikmās (January 1505-May1506). H. Laoust, *Les gouverneurs de Damas* . . . , p. 106-116. The expedition in question actually took place in the previous year and was led in person by the *nā'ib* Qānṣūh al-Burj, the predecessor of Arikmās. See below, p. 129.

sent the *dawādār* (bearer of the inkpot) Jwān Bāk (Jānibāk) (1) al-Faranjī on a campaign against the Biqā'; but the campaign failed and the *dawādār* and some three hundred of his men were killed. The *nā'ib* decided to lead a second campaign in person; but he died just before setting out from Damascus. He was succeeded in the office by Sībāy al-Ashrafī (2) ; and a few days after the new *nā'ib* arrived in Damascus, the Ma'nīd emir Fakhr ad-Dīn 'Uthmān of the Shūf was arrested at his orders. The Emir died in the following year (Rabī' II 912 / August-September 1506). It is understood from other Lebanese sources that the Biqā' campaigns of the *nā'ib* of Damascus were directed against this 'Uthmān (3); and Shidyāq added that 'Uthmān was released soon after his arrest and sent back to his country with due honour (4).

As for the unsuccessful campaign against the Biqā', it is understood from Duwayhī's account that it was planned by Arikmās (5), the direct predecessor of Sībāy al-Ashrafī in the *niyāba* of Damascus, and that it took place in 1505. Ibn Ṭūlūn (1475-1546), who wrote a history of the governors of Damascus and was a contemporary to the event, said that the expedition set out from Damascus on Dhū'l-Qa'da 2, 909 (April 17, 1504), and that it was led in person by Qānṣūh al-Burj, who became *nā'ib* of Damascus on Rabī' I 1, 907 A.H. (September 14, 1501). The *dawādār* Jānibāk al-Faranjī was one of the only two Mamluk officials in Damascus who did not join the expedition (6). Ibn Ṭūlūn added that when

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(1) Thus his name appears in Ibn Ṭūlūn's contemporary account of the expedition. H. Laoust, *op.cit.*, p. 99.

(2) Sībāy al-Ashrafī assumed the *niyāba* of Damascus on Muḥarram 9, 912 (June 1, 1506). He disappeared soon after Sha'bān 5, 922 (September 3, 1516), when Jānbirdī al-Ghazālī, the last Mamluk *nā'ib* of Damascus, was appointed to succeed him. *Ibid.*, p. 116-143.

(3) Ḥaydar ash-Shihābī, *Al-ghurar al-ḥisān...*, p. 556. He gave the date as 910 A.H. (1504-1505 A.D.).

(4) Shidyāq, *Akhbār al-a'yān...*, p. 301.

(5) See above, p. 128 , fn. 6.

(6) H. Laoust, *op.cit.*, p. 98-99.

Qānṣūh reached the Biqā‘ he found that Nāṣir ad-Dīn ibn Ḥanash had taken flight (thus implying that the expedition was directed against this Ibn Ḥanash, the rebel *muqaddam* of the Biqā‘). Qānṣūh, thereupon, set fire to the house of Ibn Ḥanash in Mashghara (a village to the west of Nahr al-Līṭānī, in the southern Biqā‘) and razed a number of villages. When Ibn Ḥanash returned from his flight on Muḥarram 13, 910 A.H. (June 26, 1504 A.D.), he found the *dawādār* Jānibāk al-Faranjī in the Biqā‘ and killed him along with several of the village sheikhs of that region. Qānṣūh wanted to send another expedition to punish Ibn Ḥanash and avenge the murder of the *dawādār*; but he fell mortally ill on July 30 and died after ten days (1). Later in his history, while relating the events of the *niyāba* of Sībāy al-Ashrafī, Ibn Ṭūlūn said that Sībāy set out on Muḥarram 27, 912 (June 19, 1506), less than three weeks after his arrival in Damascus as *nā'ib*, to arrest Ibn Ḥanash. He returned to Damascus on Rabī‘ I 6 (July 27) (2).

Although Ibn Ṭūlūn related the campaigns of Qānṣūh al-Burj and Sībāy al-Ashrafī in the Biqā‘, he made no mention of Fakhr ad-Dīn ‘Uthmān of the Ma‘ns. The arrest of the Emir of the Shūf was definitely not the primary object of those campaigns; but it is possible that he was arrested by Sībāy in 1506. He may well have been an ally of the *muqaddam* of the Biqā‘ against whom the expeditions were actually directed.

Duwayhī mentioned the death of Emir Yūnis of the Ma‘ns in 1511 (3). This is the last event related in his history of non-Maronite Lebanon before the Ottoman conquest. Duwayhī contributed nothing new to this history. Most of what he said had been related in greater detail by earlier Lebanese historians like Ibn Sibāṭ and Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā. The dates he gave were often wrong, and sometimes misleadingly so; and he did not attempt to explain

(1) *Ibid.*, p. 99, 100. The *nā'ib* Qānṣūh al-Burj died on Ṣafar 26, 910 (August 8, 1504).

(2) *Ibid.*, p. 117.

(3) Duwayhī, *TA*, p. 228.

or interpret his material. However, by placing the history of non-Maronite Lebanon side by side with that of Maronite Lebanon, he started a new trend in Lebanese historical writing which was to reach maturity in the nineteenth century.

* * *

Duwayhī's history of Maronite Lebanon is his most original contribution as a historian. In compiling it for the first time from the snatches of information found in the different sources, he showed a remarkable ability in the choice, arrangement, and criticism of his material as well as in the conclusions he reached.

In writing the history of the Maronites in the Crusader period, Duwayhī was mainly concerned with their religious history, and he only mentioned the relations between the Maronites and the Crusaders incidentally. He cited two early instances in which the Maronites offered the Franks military help. The first was in 1099, when the Franks stopped, on their way from Antioch to Jerusalem, near ʿArqā (1) and celebrated Easter there. On that occasion, he said, the Christians of Mount Lebanon came down to bid them welcome, and also to help them with supplies and to guide them on their way to Jerusalem (2). In relating this event, Duwayhī must have relied on the history of William of Tyre who wrote about the help offered by the Syrian Christians of Lebanon (by whom he probably meant the Maronites) to the Crusaders in 1099:

> High up on the lofty range of Lebanon, whose towering summits rise far above those cities on the east which I have just mentioned, lived certain Syrian Christians (3). These people had come down to offer their congratulations to

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(1) ʿArqā (Archas), a town to the north-east of Tripoli at the foot of Mount Lebanon, was an important fortified town during the Crusader period.

(2) Duwayhī, *TA*, p. 9.

(3) The earlier Crusader historians do not appear to have known the Maronites by name. They referred to them as the "Syrian Christians" of Lebanon. William of Tyre knew the Maronites by their name; but he was depending here on the earlier historians, *e.g.* Raimundi de Aguilers, *Historia Francorum qui caperunt Iherusalem*, *R. H. C. Occ.*, III (Paris, 1866), p. 288.

the pilgrims and to pay them their tribute of brotherly affection. Since they were well-acquainted with the country all about, the leaders called these people and consulted with them, as experienced men, about the safest and easiest way to Jerusalem. In all good faith the Syrians carefully considered the advantages and all the length of the various routes leading thither and finally recommended the shore road as the most direct (1).

The second instance related by Duwayhī in which Maronite help was offered to the Crusaders was in 1111. In that year, he said, when the Persian hosts crossed the Euphrates and advanced into Syria as far as Shayzar (near Ḥamā), Prince Tancred of Antioch (1104-1112) advanced against them, calling to his help King Baldwin of Jerusalem, Count Bertram of Tripoli (1108-1113), and the Christians of the mountains; whereupon the Persians retreated (2). Here Duwayhī quoted William of Tyre, who had related the event without making any mention of the "Christians of the mountains" (3) ; and it is not clear from what source Duwayhī obtained his information about the military help they offered on that occasion. Contemporary sources relate, however,

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(1) William of Tyre, *op.cit.*, I, p. 330. Raimundi de Aguilers (*loc.cit.*), who was contemporary to the event, said that the Syrian Christians of Lebanon considered three routes to Jerusalem: the Damascus route, on which food was plentiful but water was scarce, the route by way of the mountain, on which food and water were plentiful but which was difficult for the beasts of burden, and the coastal route, on which the Fransks might encounter opposition from the local Moslem population. The coastal route was finally chosen. See S. Runciman, *op.cit.*, I, p. 275.

(2) Duwayhī, *TA*, p. 21. William of Tyre, *op.cit.*, I, p. 489-491. Fulcherio Carnotensi, *Historia Iherosolymitana gesta Francorum Iherusalem peregrinantium*, *R. H. C. Occ.*, III (Paris, 1866), p. 423-424. Alberti Aquensis, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, *R. H. C. Occ.*, IV (Paris, 1869), p. 681 *et seq.* Ibn al-Qalānisī, *Dhayl...*, p. 174 *et seq.* See also S. Runciman, *op.cit.*, II, p. 121-123. The "Persians" who crossed the Euphrates, advanced against the Franks, and met with defeat at Shayzar were the Seljuk troops led by Mawdūd ibn Altūnshāh, Atabeg of Mosul under Sultan Muḥammad ibn Malikshāh (1104-1117). There seems to be no mention in the sources of the help offered by the Lebanese Christians to the Franks on this occasion.

(3) William of Tyre, *loc.cit.*

that the Maronites continued to assist the Crusaders throughout their stay in Syria. William of Tyre spoke of them as "a stalwart race, valiant fighters, and of great service to the Christians in the difficult engagements which they so frequently had with the enemy" (1). Jaques de Vitry said that they were numerous, used bows and arrows, and were swift and skilful in battle (2). The Arabic historian Ibn al-Athīr spoke of the help rendered to Raymond de Saint Gilles during his unsuccessful siege of Tripoli in 1102 by the Christians of the neighbourhood of Tripoli and those of the mountains (3). It is likely, therefore, that the Maronites helped the Crusaders in 1111, probably as a contingent in the army of the Count of Tripoli; but it is also possible that in this particular case Duwayhī was not depending on a reliable source but simply adding a Maronite tradition to the account of William of Tyre.

Duwayhī mentioned another instance in which the "people from the mountains surrounding [Tripoli]" (probably the Maronites) helped the Crusaders, this time against Nūr ad-Dīn ibn Zengī in 1163 (4). In that year, he said, when the armies of the Franks were in Egypt (5), Nūr ad-Dīn advanced against Tripoli, but he was defeated by the Franks of that city with the help of the "people from the mountains" (6). Again it seems that other sources do not mention the help offered by the "people from the

(1) *Ibid.*, II, p. 459.

(2) Jaques de Vitry, *History of Jerusalem*, p. 79.

(3) Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-kāmil fī't-tawārīkh* (Cairo, 1303 A.H.), X, p. 120.

(4) Duwayhī, *TA*, p. 65-66. Duwayhī gave the date wrongly as 1164. For sources giving the correct date see below, fn. 6.

(5) In 1163 King Amalric had set out on an expedition to Egypt. See S. Runciman, *op.cit.*, II, p. 367.

(6) For this event see William of Tyre, *op.cit.*, II, p. 306; Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-kāmil...*, XI, p. 110. The former gave the date 1163 and the latter 558 A.H. (1162-1163 A.D.). See also S. Runciman, *loc.cit.*, referring to William of Tyre and Ibn al-Athīr. Neither of these two contemporary sources mentioned the help offered by the Lebanese mountaineers against Nūr ad-Dīn on that occasion.

mountains" on that occasion, although such help was not unlikely.

Duwayhī also mentioned two instances in which the "men of the mountains" of the neighbourhood of Tripoli defeated Baybars. The first was in 1264, when Baybars took Qulay'āt (1) and 'Arqā. Duwayhī added that the sultan was kept from besieging Tripoli at the time by the "men of the mountains" who descended on him and defeated him (2). Ibn 'Abd aẓ-Ẓāhir, the biographer of Baybars, said that the fort of Qulay'āt was taken on Ramaḍān 4, 664 A.H. (June 9, 1266 A.D.) and destroyed, after which a general raid on the territory of Tripoli "from the frontier of Tripoli to the neighbourhood of Arṣūf" followed (3). Ibn 'Abd aẓ-Ẓāhir did not mention that Baybars intended to besiege Tripoli, nor did he say that such a scheme was frustrated by the defeat of his soldiers at the hands of Lebanese mountaineers (4). It is possible, however, that an abortive attempt at the conquest of Tripoli at the time was made. Duwayhī also mentioned that Baybars raided the territory of Tripoli in 1266, cutting down its trees, destroying its irrigation system, and devastating 24 of its villages. The men of the mountains, however, "poured down" on him, forcing him to retreat to Ḥiṣn al-Akrād (Crac des Chevaliers) (5). Ibn 'Abd aẓ-Ẓāhir mentioned this raid in his account of the events of the year 666 A.H. (1267-1268 A.D.):

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(1) Qulay'āt, between Tripoli and 'Arqā, was a fortified town of some importance in Crusader times.

(2) Duwayhī, *TA*, p. 135. Here Duwayhī, referring to a church inscription dated 1573 S.E. (1262 A.D.), added that the "men of the mountains" had built churches in the villages near to the coast, like Ḥaṣrā'īl and Idda in the Batrūn district. Duwayhī took this to indicate that the Christian mountaineers by that time had "escaped the tyranny of the Egyptians"

بطلوا من جور المصريين

(3) Ibn 'Abd aẓ-Ẓāhir, *Sīrat Baybars* (MS Fātiḥ [Istanbul] 4367), p. 156-158. Pagination mine. A microfilm of this manuscript was kindly lent to me by Professor Bernard Lewis.

(4) As far as I know, none of the Arabic historians mention it.

(5) Duwayhī, *TA*, p. 136. Baybars then proceeded, from Ḥisn al-Akrād, to the conquest of Antioch.

Bohemond[VI, 1251-1275], the ruler of Tripoli, had greatly aggressed against the lands of Islam and had taken over neighbouring territory after the fall of the Ayyūbids (1) and the occupation of Syria by the Mongols. He had [also] been a great helper of the Mongols.... The Sultan, therefore, advanced [from Damascus] to Baalbek, and from there to Tripoli by way of Jibāl aḍ-Ḍinniyyīn(2) because the prince had spoilt the roads. He arrived in Tripoli in mid-Sha'bān (c. April 30, 1268) (3)... and encamped nearby...; and the Sultan led regular attacks on Tripoli while his soldiers engaged its inhabitants in skirmishes.... A group of the soldiers advanced against the Franks of al-Ḥadath (4), plundering those mountains, gaining booty, and taking several caves by the sword; and when the prisoners were brought [before the Sultan] he gave orders to behead them all. The trees were cut down, the churches demolished, and the water canals and the Roman canal [of Tripoli] which was unmatched in greatness were destroyed. The Sultan divided the booty among the troops and left Tripoli on Sha'bān 29 (May 15, 1268) (5).

Here again Ibn 'Abd aẓ-Ẓāhir made no mention of a defeat of Baybars at the hands of the Lebanese mountaineers; but this does not exclude the possibility. It is only natural that the eulogistic biographer should ignore minor failures. On the other hand, the fact that he mentioned the town of al-Ḥadath (a town in the heart of Maronite Lebanon) and the destruction of churches clearly

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(1) Literal translation : "after the passing of the Nāṣirid days" بعد زوال الأيّام الناصرية
The reference here is to an-Nāṣir Ṣalāḥ ad-Dīn Yūsuf, the last Ayyūbid sultan of Aleppo (1236-1260) and of Damascus (1250-1260).

(2) The modern district of aḍ-Ḍinniyya, north of Jibbat Bsharrī. The district today is inhabited mainly by Sunnī Moslems.

(3) *Cf.* MAQRĪZĪ, *Sulūk...*, I, p. 566.

(4) The original here is vague: وجرّد جماعة من الفرنج الحدث

(5) IBN 'ABD AẒ-ẒĀHIR, *op.cit.*, p. 207-213. Pagination mine. *Cf.* MAQRĪZĪ, *loc.cit.* See also R. GROUSSET, *Histoire des Croisades*, III, p. 640: "Dans son expédition contre Bohemond VI, Baibars avait projeté de prendre d'abord Tripoli. Vers le 1er mai 1268 il apparut devant la ville, saccagea la banlieue, démolisant les églises et massacrant les paysans. Mais le Liban Maronite — et la montagne était encore couverte de neige, — gênait ses communications pour un siège en règle. Il se rabattit sur Antioche." Grousset referred to Maqrīzī and to Röhricht, *Derniers temps*, p. 390-391.

shows that the Maronites did have encounters with the troops of Baybars.

Duwayhī next related the raid of Qalāwūn on Jibbat Bsharrī in 1283 (1). He relied here on information found in two prayer books, one written in the year 1594 S.E. (1283 A.D.), the year of the event (2), and the other in 1815 S.E. (1504 A.D.), well over two centuries later (3). Duwayhī summed up this information as follows:

> In the month of May the Moslem army set out to conquer Jibbat Bsharrī. The troops advanced up Wādī Ḥayrūnā, to the east of Tripoli, and laid heavy siege to Ihdin, which fell on the fortieth day, in the month of June. [The soldiers] plundered, killed, and took captives; and they razed the fortress in the centre of the village and the fortification on the top of the mountain. Then they advanced to Bqūfā and took it in July, arresting its notables and burning them with the houses. They [also] plundered, took captives, and razed [the village] to the ground. And after massacring the people of Ḥaṣrūn and Kafarsārūn in the church, they moved on to al-Ḥadath on August 22. The inhabitants escaped to al-ʿĀṣī, an impregnable cave with a water cistern. [The soldiers] killed those whom they could find and destroyed al-Ḥadath; and they built a tower to face the cave and stationed in it troops to lie in wait against [those who had taken refuge inside]. And when they could not take the fortress of Ḥawqā, which faces al-Ḥadath, they were advised by Ibn aṣ-Ṣabḥā of Kafarṣghāb to draw [the water of] the spring which overlooks Bsharrī and let it pour over [the fortress]; so they captured it with the power of the water, because it is inside the cliff. And they allowed Ibn aṣ-Ṣabḥā to wear a white turban and to be served by slaves. [Later], when the soldiers repented of their misdeeds, they built the monastery of the Lady of Ḥawqā..., near the fortress which was inside the cliff (4).

This event has already been discussed in the study on Ibn al-Qilāʿīs history. The raid of 1283 may have been intended to

(1) See above, p. 61 *et seq.*

(2) This prayer book, said Duwayhī, was written in Qṭīn ar-Rawādīf, a village in the neighbourhood of al-Ḥadath, near the monastery of Mār Yūḥannā which is known as Dayr Mār Abūn. The monastery at the time was headed by Bishop Ibrāhīm al-Ḥadathī. Duwayhī, *TA*, p. 145.

(3) *Ibid.*, p. 145-146.

(4) Duwayhī, *TA*, p. 146. All the place names mentioned in this passage are in Jibbat Bsharrī.

prepare the way for the conquest of Tripoli by devastating the hinterland and making it impossible for the Franks to receive help from the Maronites of the neighbouring mountains, as they had done in the past.

In dealing with the religious history of the Maronites in the Crusader period, Duwayhī's main aim was to refute the claim of William of Tyre, who had said that the Maronites renounced the Monothelite heresy and joined the Church of Rome in approximately 1180. Church historians are familiar with the passages in question:

> At this time, while the kingdom [of Jerusalem] was enjoying a temporary state of peace..., a race of Syrians in the province of Phœnicia, near the Lebanon range, who occupied the territory near the city of Jubayl, underwent a wonderful change of heart. For almost [five hundred] (1) years these people had followed the heretical doctrines of a certain Maro, from whom they took the name of Maronites. They separated from the Church and the faithful and had adopted a special liturgy of their own. Now, however, by divine leading, they were restored to their right minds and abandoned their heresy. They repaired to Aimery, the Patriarch of Antioch, the third of the Latin patriarchs to preside over that church (2), renounced the error by which they had been so long enslaved, and returned to the unity of the Catholic Church. They adopted the orthodox faith and prepared to embrace and observe with all reverence the traditions of the Roman Church....
>
> The heresy of Maro and his followers is and was that in our Lord Jesus Christ there exists, and did exist from the beginning, one will and one energy only.... To this article... they added many other pernicious doctrines after they

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(1) In the English translation, as in the original Latin, the figure appears as "fifty". The Old French translation is probably correct in giving the figure 500 (*R. H. C. Occ.*, I, p. 1076). The Maronite church was established in Lebanon towards the end of the seventh century, almost 500 years before c.1180. In his Arabic translation of the passage (*TTM*, p. 350), Duwayhī gave the same figure, 500.

(2) Aymeri or Haimery, also called Amaury and Amalric, of Limoges, a Frenchman from the province of Limousin, became Latin patriarch of Antioch in 1142. He probably died in 1196, and was succeeded by Pierre of Angoulême. L. de Mas Latrie, " Les patriarches latins d'Antioche, " in *ROL*, II (1894), p. 193-194.

separated from the number of the faithful. Now, however, as has been stated, they repented of all their heresies and returned to the Catholic Church under the leadership of their patriarch and several of their bishops... (1).

It is not within the scope of this work to discuss the case for or against the original Monothelitism of the Maronites (2) ; but Duwayhī's criticism of William of Tyre is not limited to this question. Duwayhī also attacked the statement that the Maronites had first entered into communion with Rome in c.1180, and his arguments here deserve attention. A close examination of the sources shows that the "wonderful change of heart" which William of Tyre relates was no isolated event, but a process which may have started with the first arrival of the Crusaders in Lebanon (3). Referring to Ibn al-Qilāʿī, Duwayhī cited two instances in which Maronite patriarchs had communicated with the papacy before 1180. The first was in 1100, when the Maronite patriarch Yūsuf al-Jirjisī sent his envoys with those of Gaudefroy de Bouillon to Rome, and received the crown and staff from Pope Paschall II (4). The second was in 1131, when Pope Innocent II sent letters to the Maronite patriarch Gregorius al-Ḥālātī with Cardinal Gulielmo (5), whereupon the Maronite bishops met the Cardinal at Tripoli and signed an oath of allegiance to Rome (6). Duwayhī also mentioned that in 1112 (7) (or during the reign of Baldwin I,

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(1) William of Tyre, *op.cit.*, II, p. 458-459.

(2) William of Tyre's statement on this question has been recently disputed, but not definitely disproved, by Robert W. Crawford, "William of Tyre and the Maronites," in *Speculum*, 30 (1955), p. 222-228.

(3) See Kamal S. Salibi, "The Maronite church in the Middle Ages and its union with Rome," in *Oriens Christianus*, 42 (1958), p. 92-104.

(4) Duwayhī, *TTM*, p. 355; *TA*, p. 11; *SB*, p. 309. See above, p. 46-47.

(5) Probably Bishop Albericus of Ostia, and not Cardinal Gulielmo. See above, p. 47-48.

(6) Duwayhī, *TTM*, p. 355-356; *TA*, p. 38-39; *SB*, p. 310. See above, p. 47-48. The event probably took place in 1139 or 1140, not 1131.

(7) Duwayhī, *TA*, p. 22.

1100-1117) (1) the Maronites in Lebanon began to use brass bells instead of planks of wood to call the faithful to church (in the Latin manner). Jaques de Vitry spoke of this use of church bells by the Maronites in his day:

> Hence, whereas all Eastern prelates save only the Latins do not use rings and pontifical mitres, nor carry pastoral staves in their hands, nor use bells, but are wont to call the people to church by using a wooden board with a staff or hammer, these aforesaid Maronites, in token of their obedience to Rome, follow the customs and rites of the Latins (2).

Duwayhī also followed Ibn al-Qilā'ī in rejecting the Maronitism of Tūmā al-Kafarṭābī; and he further tried to show that, even if this Tūmā were to be considered a Maronite, his Monothelite views could not have represented Maronite belief in his day (3). In asserting that Tūmā was not a Maronite, Duwayhī relied solely on the seemingly groundless conclusions of Ibn al-Qilā'ī (4), which he quoted in testimony. He then added:

> Following this testimony, all difficulties disappear. I mean [Tūmā al-Kafarṭābī] was no Maronite, but one who intended to sow the tares of heresy among the Maronites (5).

Duwayhī proceeded to grant, for the sake of the argument, that Tūmā was a Maronite. In that case, he maintained, Tūmā's belief in the One Will must have resulted from reading the history of Eutychius (Ibn Baṭrīq), who claimed that the Maronites were the followers of the Monothelite monk Mārūn (6). Duwayhī then proceeded to comment on the fact that Tūmā's book, *Al-maqālāt al-'ashr*, was rewritten at the request of the priest of Farsha' after its original had been destroyed by the Melchite patriarch Anbā Yūḥannā (7). To him, this was a clear indication that

(1) *Ibid.*, p. 27.
(2) Jaques de Vitry, *op.cit.*, p. 80-81.
(3) Duwayhī, *TTM*, p. 337-350.
(4) *Ibid.*, p. 339-340. See above, p. 44-46.
(5) Duwayhī, *TTM*, p. 339.
(6) See above, p. 97, fn. 1.
(7) See above, p. 44.

Tūmā had come to Lebanon on an unholy mission, and that his heretical teachings had been rejected by all the Maronites except those of the village of Farsha':

> If [*Al-maqālāt al-'ashr*] had been accepted by the patriarch Yūsuf [al-Jirjisī], his archbishops, and the high officials of his see, Tūmā would not have written it to the church of Farsha', which is a small village, and refrained from writing it to the patriarchal church or to the other holy churches and monasteries (1).

These alternative arguments which Duwayhī presented indicate that he was not satisfied with Ibn al-Qilā'ī's conclusions. The latter's lack of grounds for his assertion that Tūmā was not a Maronite made Duwayhī consider at length the possibility of his having been a "misled" Maronite: a plausible suggestion, considering the evidence already examined about the relations of the Maronite church with Rome before 1180. Tūmā al-Kafarṭābī may have represented those Maronites who continued to follow the old traditions of their community and who were disinclined to accept the innovations from Rome. A quotation by Duwayhī from a Jacobite church book supports this possibility:

> And the sects refused to believe; so you said with them, O Maronites, two Natures and two Essences and two Wills. And [there are] some among them who said one Will (2).

Duwayhī here added that those who believed in the One Will were people like Tūmā al-Kafarṭābī and Ibn aṭ-Ṭayyib (3),

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(1) Duwayhī, *TTM*, p. 342-343.

(2) Duwayhī, *TTM*, p. 343. Duwayhī also quoted the same passage in *ibid.*, p. 87, with a variation, placing the "one Will" before the "two Wills." I have not found the original.

(3) According to Duwayhī, Abū'l-Faraj 'Abdallāh Ibn aṭ-Ṭayyib was a Maronite and a Monothelite who died in Iraq in 1140 (*TA*, p. 46-47). Actually, Ibn aṭ-Ṭayyib was a philosopher, physician, monk, and priest who lived in Baghdad in the first half of the twelfth century and died in 1143. He was a Nestorian, not a Maronite; and he was not a Monothelite. See G. Graf, *op.cit.*, II, p. 160-177.

and others who were living among the Jacobites, while those who believed in the Two Wills were the Maronites of Lebanon.

Duwayhī may have had a good case when he argued that the Maronites had had connections with Rome before c.1180, but his attempt to explain away the formal conversion of that year was awkward and unconvincing. Laying aside the contemporary evidence of William of Tyre, he based his whole explanation on a statement by Ibn al-Qilāʿī concerning an oath of allegiance to Rome by the Maronites of Jerusalem (1). This oath of allegiance, said Duwayhī, was taken at the time when Aimery was in Jerusalem (2) (c.1153-1160) (3). After the (third) Lateran Council of 1179 had healed the schism which had followed the death of Pope Hadrian (IV, 1154-1159), Pope Alexander II (actually Alexander III, 1159-1181) asked the bishops of the East who were returning from the Council to carry letters to King Baldwin (IV, 1175-1185) and to Patriarch Aimery of Antioch. On receiving these letters, the King and the Patriarch swore allegiance to Pope Alexander (III) alone, and so did the other officials and clergymen of the realm —including the Maronites of Jerusalem. Duwayhī here stressed that neither the Maronite patriarch nor his bishops, who had always been good Catholics, had anything to do with the matter, but only the Maronites of Jerusalem who were acting in conformity with other Catholics there. The date of this oath, as given by Duwayhī, varies between 1179, 1180, and 1182 (4).

This version of the story is in complete disagreement with that of William of Tyre, who was living at the time and who actually took part in the Lateran Council of 1179 (5). William said distinctly that the Maronites, led by their patriarch and

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(1) Ibn al-Qilāʿī, *Shamʿūn*, p. 105.

(2) Duwayhī, *TTM*, p. 351-352.

(3) William of Tyre, *op.cit.*, II, p. 235.

(4) Duwayhī, *TA*, p. 80-81; *TTM*, p. 351-352, 356-357. For the story of the schism of 1159 see William of Tyre, *op.cit.*, II, p. 281, 285, 435.

(5) William of Tyre, *op.cit.*, I (Introduction), p. 21.

several of their bishops, repaired to Patriarch Aimery and accepted union with Rome at his hands. Aimery had left Jerusalem in approximately 1160 (1). The Maronites there may have taken part in the paying of allegiance to the triumphant Pope Alexander, as Duwayhī suggested. It is clear, however, that the Maronites in 1180 or 1181 did enter into a formal union with the Church of Rome—a union which had not existed before, but which may have been preceded by some preliminary agreement on the principle.

Nearly 35 years after the conversion of the Maronites at the hands of Aimery, their patriarch Irmiyā al-ʻAmshītī went to Rome and attended the fourth Lateran Council which was held there in 1215. Duwayhī related the event. Pope Innocent III, he said, following his election in 1198, sent letters to the Maronite patriarch with a legate. Patriarch Irmiyā, accompanied by two bishops and several minor clergymen, met this legate at Tripoli, and in his presence offered submission to the Pope and to his successors. Later on, the Patriarch left for Rome in person and attended the Lateran Council (2). Duwayhī also gave a complete translation of the bull addressed by Innocent III to Irmiyā (3). This bull (as already mentioned) stated that the Maronites had at one time been "like wandering sheep, not properly understanding that the Catholic Church was the one spouse of Christ...." It explained points of faith and ritual to the Maronites, urging them to accept the teachings of the Catholic Church. The bull clearly implied that the Maronites had previously been heretics, and

(1) *Ibid.*, II, p. 235.

(2) Duwayhī, *TTM*, p. 359-360. In *SB* (p. 311) and *TA* (p. 102), Duwayhī gave the date of Irmiyā's accession to the patriarchate mistakenly as 1209. Cardinal Peter of Capua, the papal legate, must have met him at Tripoli in c.1203 (see above, p. 57 *et seq.*). Duwayhī did not notice this mistake. Ṭ. ʻAnaysī (*Silsila...*, p. 19-21) gave the date of Irmiyā's accession as 1199. His visit to Rome has already been discussed. See above, p. 53 *et seq.*

(3) Duwayhī, *TTM*, p. 361-365. See above, p. 55 *et seq.* Duwayhī's translation is far superior to that of Ibn al-Qilāʻī.

Duwayhī explained this away by presuming that it was the Melchites who had misinformed Innocent III about the true faith of the Maronites (1).

In dealing with the history of the Maronite church during the Crusader period, Duwayhī did not limit himself to disputing the formal conversion of the Maronites by Aimery in c.1180 and to relating the presence of their patriarch at the Lateran Council in 1215. He gave the chronology of the Maronite patriarchs, as far as he could make it out from the scanty material available to him; and he also attempted to determine the several changes of patriarchal residence. The building of new churches and the restoration of old monasteries are also mentioned (2).

The political history of the Maronites after the Mamluks had completed the conquest of the Phœnician coast in 1291 differed greatly from their history in the Crusader period. Under Frankish rule the Maronites were the most privileged among the native communities of Syria (3). They were the stalwart race of valiant fighters of whom William of Tyre and the other Frankish chroniclers spoke. Even their fellow Eastern Christians praised their valour and the great help they offered to the Franks (4). Under the Mamluks the Maronites lost their privileged position. The Mamluks feared that the Maronites would assist the Franks in an

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(1) Duwayhī, *TTM*, p. 366-367.

(2) Duwayhī, *TA*, p. 118, 141-142; *SB*, p. 312.

(3) E. Rey, *Les colonies franques en Syrie aux XIIme et XIIIme siècles* (Paris, 1883), p. 76.

(4) The Armenian chronicler Hayton († c. 1308-1315), nephew of King Hethoum I of Armenia (d. 1268), commended the Maronites for their valour: "Les Marronins . . . habitent entour le mont Liban, et vers les parties de Jerusalem, e sont bones gens d'armes . . . [Ils sont] poi de gent; e entre iaus y a des vaillans homes d'armes et de bons seignors." Further on, he added: "E eu mont Liban sont Crestiens habitans, bons sergans, entor XLm, qui grant aide donroient as pelerins, e maintes foiz se sont relevez au soudan (sultan), e ont fait damages a sa gent." Hayton, *La flor des estoires de la terre d'Orient* (Old French version) *R.H.C. Arm.*, II (Paris, 1906), p. 134-135, 245.

attempted return to Syria (1), and they tried to break their defences and to weaken their power. Already in 1283, before the conquest of Tripoli, Qalāwūn had organized an expedition against Jibbat Bsharrī, in the heart of Maronite Lebanon—an expedition which resulted in the utter defeat of the Maronites, the capture of their patriarch, and the destruction of several of their forts (2).

Moslem historians who related the expedition of 1292 and 1305 against Kisrawān said that these expeditions were directed against the Rāfiḍa, the Nuṣayrīs, and the Druzes of the region. Modern historians have accepted this view and noted that the defeat of the heterodox Moslem communities of Kisrawān made it possible for the Maronites to move southwards and occupy the devastated and depopulated districts (3). This may have been true in the long run; but the Maronite historians clearly state that the Maronites shared in both the victory of 1292 and the rout of 1305 (4). Ibn al-Qilāʿī seems to have believed that it

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(1) Hayton (*ibid.*, p. 247-250), who, at the end of his history, drew a plan for the reconquest of the Holy Land by the Franks, described the manner in which the Franks should advance to Jerusalem. The last stage of the conquest, he said, should go as follows: "E se les enemis eschivassent la bataille, les Crestiens porroient venir a Tripoli droitement en III jours de Damas, et porroient refaire la cité de Triple, *e les Crestiens qui sunt eu mont Liban donroient grant aide as pelerins*; dont les Crestiens qui tenent la cité de Triple porroient après conquerre le roiaume de Jerusalem, o l'aide de Deu." *Ibid.*, p. 250. Italics mine. Louis de Rochechouart, bishop of Saintes, who went on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 1461, came into contact with the Maronites and reported that, at the time, they were then still inquiring whether or not the Christians intended to reconquer the Holy Land. "Journal de voyage de Louis de Rochechouart...," *ROL*, I (1893), p. 257.

(2) See above, p. 61-63, 136-137.

(3) H. Lammens, *La Syrie...*, p. 16. H. Laoust, *Essai sur les doctrines sociales et politiques de Taki-d-Din B. Taimiya...*, p. 60.

(4) Like the Druzes (see above, p. 119), the Christians of Lebanon, according to Hayton, attacked the Mamluk troops escaping through their country before the advance of Ghāzān Khān in 1300. See Hayton, *op.cit.*, p. 195. This is also mentioned in *Gestes des Chiprois* (see R. Grousset, *op.cit.*, III, p. 745, fn. 3).

was the Maronites alone who defeated the Mamluk army in 1292, and also that the expedition of 1305 was directed against them alone (1).

Duwayhī, drawing on both Ibn al-Qilā'ī and the Moslem and Druze historians (Ibn al-Ḥarīrī and Ibn Sibāṭ), brought together the Maronite and the non-Maronite accounts of the expeditions. While relating the expedition of 1292 (2), he paraphrased Ibn al-Qilā'ī's account of the battle of Jubayl which was won by the Maronite chieftains (3). When he related the expedition of 1305, he mentioned the destruction of churches in Kisrawān (4). The history of Tādrus of Ḥamā, the only available Maronite source which may have been contemporary to those events, clearly shows that there was a thriving Christian population in Kisrawān before the defeat of its heterodox Moslem population in 1305 (5). Tādrus added that at the time of the great expedition against Kisrawān "not a monastery, church, or fort . . . was saved from destruction, except the church of Mār Shallīṭā.... And after several years Christians from every region started coming into the country" (6).

Duwayhī added that in 1309, a few years after the destruction of Kisrawān, troops encamped near Bsharrī and caused great damage to the whole district (7). These troops passed through Jibbat Bsharrī, probably on their way from Damascus to Tripoli (8).

Duwayhī then related the persecution of the Maronite clergy

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(1) See above, p. 69-72, 72-75.

(2) Duwayhī, *TA*, p. 160-161; *TTM*, p. 376. See above, p. 115-117.

(3) See above, p. 70-71

(4) Duwayhī, *TA*, p. 163.

(5) Tādrus of Ḥamā, *op.cit.*, p. 85-86.

(6) *Ibid.*, p. 88.

(7) Duwayhī, *TA*, p. 166.

(8) *Cf.* Shihābī, *Al-ghurar al-ḥisān...*, p. 484. He gave the date as 710 A.H. (1310 A.D.). I have not come across other mentions of the event.

by the Mamluks in 1366 (1), which he explained as a reprisal for several Cypriot and Genoese naval raids on Beirut and Sidon, and for the two great fires of Damascus (1339 and 1353 A.D./ 740 and 754 A.H.) for which the Christians were blamed (2). The direct cause of the persecution, he continued, was a naval raid by the Franks of Cyprus upon Alexandria. The Mamluk government retaliated by persecuting the Christians living within the Mamluk empire (3). Here Duwayhī quoted Ya'qūb, archbishop of Ihdin, who related the event in a colophon to a copy of the Gospels which he made while fleeing the persecution (4):

> In this date [1677 S.E./ 1366 A.D.] (5) the king of Cyprus went out to Alexandria and plundered it, killing its men and taking its young prisoner. So the sultan of the Moslems became angry with the Christians and took their chief clergymen and imprisoned them in Damascus. Then I, the humble Ya'qūb of Ihdin, called archbishop, ran away and left them, and the Lord Christ helped me, and I copied [these Gospels] while I was running away.

During these persecutions, Duwayhī continued, the Maronite patriarch Jibrā'īl of Ḥajūlā was arrested and burnt alive outside Tripoli (6) on April 1, 1367. Duwayhī referred here to an elegy written by the patriarch's nephew, who gave April 1 as the date of his uncle's martyrdom (7).

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(1) Duwayhī, *TTM*, p. 386-387.

(2) Ibn Sibāṭ, *op.cit.*, p. 267-268, 301, 305. I could find no mention of the fire of 754 A.H. in Ibn Sibāṭ. The first fire was in 739 A.H.

(3) See above, p. 75-76. For the Cypriot raid on Alexandria, see above, p. 123, fn. 5.

(4) Duwayhī, *TTM*, p. 386. Duwayhī quotes the Syriac original with an Arabic translation.

(5) Duwayhī gave the equivalent of the date in the Seleucid Era variously as 1365 and 1367 of the Christian era (*TA*, p. 185; *TTM*, p. 387; *SB*, p. 347). Actually the raid on Alexandria took place in October 1365. See above, p. 123, fn. 5.

(6) See above, p. 75. Duwayhī, *TTM*, p. 387; *TA*, p. 185-186; *SB*, p. 347.

(7) Duwayhī, *TTM*, p. 387.

In his biographical sketch of Emir Yilbughā al-Khāṣṣakī (1), Ibn Ḥajar said that, following the raid upon Alexandria by the Franks of Cyprus, the Emir began to prepare for a retaliation. To pay for the preparations, he "confiscated all that the Christians and the monks had, and collected the wealth found in all the monasteries" (2). Judging by the testimony of the archbishop of Ihdin, the persecution of the Christians which followed the raid upon Alexandria was not confined to Egypt, but also affected the Maronites of northern Lebanon.

In contrast with the persecutions of 1366, Duwayhī mentioned the endowment of the monastery of Qannūbīn by the Mamluk sultan Barqūq in 1388 (3). In that year (actually 1390) (4), he said, when Barqūq left prison and travelled in Syria disguised as a dervish (5), he came to Bsharrī and appointed the *shidyāq* Ya'qūb ibn Ayyūb *muqaddam* of the district. Barqūq then went down to Qannūbīn where he was hospitably received by Buṭrus, the abbot of the monastery. In return for this hospitality, the Sultan gave Buṭrus a *firman* exempting the monastery from taxation and giving it precedence over all other monasteries in the district (6). Duwayhī may have depended here on Ibn al-Qilā'ī, who had given a simpler and less explicit version of the story (7) ; but the details which are found in the Duwayhī version

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(1) See above, p. 123, fn. 4.

(2) Ibn Ḥajar, *Ad-durar al-kāmina...*, IV, p. 438.

(3) Duwayhī, *TA*, p. 190-191.

(4) Barqūq left al-Karak in 1390. See above, p. 125, fn. 3.

(5) Only Duwayhī, as far as I know, relates that Barqūq left al-Karak disguised as a dervish. Barqūq did not escape from al-Karak. He made himself master of the fortress before leaving it to fight his way back to the throne. See Ibn Iyās, *op. cit.*, I, p. 280 *et seq.* It is not clear from where Duwayhī got his information.

(6) According to Duwayhī, Barqūq issued the appointment of the *muqaddam* of Jibbat Bsharrī and the exemption of Qannūbīn, each on a sheet of brass: صفيحة من نحاس

(7) Ibn al-Qilā'ī, *Madīḥa...*, p. 43; see above, p. 64-65.

suggest that additional sources were used (1). Unfortunately, it is impossible to determine the truth of this story. The Mamluk chroniclers did not mention that Barqūq visited Bsharrī after leaving al-Karak, although he may have done so (2). It must be added here that Ya'qūb ibn Ayyūb, according to Duwayhī, remained *muqaddam* of Bsharrī for approximately 62 years and died in 1444 (3). This would make the date of his appointment 1382, and not 1390. In this case he could not have been made *muqaddam* by Barqūq in 1390, unless the Sultan had merely confirmed him officially in his position.

On his death in 1444, *Muqaddam* Ya'qūb was succeeded by his three sons, Sayfā who was surnamed Zayn (Zayn ad-Dīn), Qamar who was surnamed Badr(Badr ad-Dīn) (4), and Muzhir(5). These three were followed by Sayfā's son 'Abd al-Mun'im, who died in 1469 and was succeeded by his nephew Rizq-Allāh ibn Jamāl ad-Dīn ibn Sayfā (6). After giving the names of these chieftains, Duwayhī said that there was so much comfort and prosperity in Lebanon in their days that many people from the neighbouring countries, including a number of Jacobites, came over to live in Bsharrī and the other towns of northern Lebanon (7). To illustrate the prosperity of Lebanon at the time, Duwayhī

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(1) I have not been able to find any such sources.

(2) Of the Mamluk sultans who were deposed and restored, Barqūq alone had the ample time to travel in Jibbat Bsharrī. Seven months elapsed between the time he left al-Karak (Dhū'l-Qa'da 791) and the date of his restoration (Jumādā II, 792). IBN ḤAJAR, *Inbā' al-ghumr...*, f.67v, 72v.

(3) DUWAYHĪ, *TA*, p. 207.

(4) Duwayhī said simply that Sayfā was surnamed Zayn and that his brother Qamar was surnamed Badr, meaning the *alqāb* Zayn ad-Dīn and Badr ad-Dīn. Although usually associated with Moslems, such *alqāb* were not uncommon among the chieftains of Bsharrī. *Muqaddam* Rizq-Allāh's father was called Jamāl ad-Dīn (see text). Yūsuf, the son and successor of 'Abd al-Mun'im Ayyūb, was also given the *laqab* Jamāl ad-Dīn. See below, p. 150.

(5) DUWAYHĪ, *loc. cit.*

(6) *Ibid.*, p. 213. See below, Appendix C.

(7) Thus "the sons of Jum'a left 'Ayn Ḥalyā and came to live in Bsharrī;

cited that there were as many altars in the churches of Bsharrī as there were days in the year, that there were 1200 cows and bulls in al-Ḥadath and 70 mules in Ihdin, and that the number of copyists at the time with whose works he (Duwayhī) was familiar exceeded 110 (1).

In 1472, Duwayhī continued, *Muqaddam* Rizq-Allāh died and was succeeded by his grandnephew ʻAbd al-Munʻim Ayyūb(2), in whose days the Monophysites established their influence in Jibbat Bsharrī. ʻAbd al-Munʻim, who had received his first reading lessons from a Jacobite priest, had strong leanings towards the sect; and the Jacobites took advantage of that and also tried to win his favour with presents. He had a church built for them near his house in Bsharrī and named it after one of their saints, Barṣawmā. As the influence of the Jacobites increased in the district, several Maronites were won over to Monophysitism, and their alarmed patriarch tried in vain to bring them back to orthodoxy. ʻAbd al-Munʻim promised protection to both the Jacobites and their proselytes, and he threatened to banish anyone who molested them and to confiscate his property (3). This led to a rising in 1487 which ended with the expulsion of the Jacobites from Jibbat Bsharrī in 1488 (4). Duwayhī related the details of this rising in which the leading role was played by the Maronites of Ihdin, his native village. In 1493, he continued, Jibrā'īl ibn al-Qilāʻī returned from Rome and tried "orally and in writing" to reconvert

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the sons of Shāhīn left Ṣafad ash-Sharq and came to live in the village of Ḥaṣrūn; the curate (*khūrī*) Ḥannā and the priest (*qiss*) Iliyyā and their brother the *shidyāq* Jirjis, the sons of al-Ḥājj Ḥasan, left Nāblus and came to Ḥadshīt; and the priest Yaʻqūb and his companions came from Abyssinia as monks and took residence in the monastery of Mār Yaʻqūb in Ihdin, which came to be known after them as Dayr al-Ḥbāsh (monastery of the Abyssinians)." *Ibid.*, p. 214.

(1) *Ibid.*

(2) *Ibid.*, p. 215.

(3) *Ibid.*, p. 217-218.

(4) *Ibid.*

ʿAbd al-Munʿim and his followers to Roman orthodoxy (1). The troubles came to an end in 1495 with the death of ʿAbd al-Munʿim. His son and successor Jamāl ad-Dīn Yūsuf was of orthodox faith (2).

The spread of the Monophysite heresy in Jibbat Bsharrī has already been discussed. In his account of it Duwayhī referred mainly to Ibn al-Qilāʿī's *Madīḥa ʿalā Jabal Lubnān* and *Tabkīt kull man zāgh ʿan al-īmān.* He did not mention his sources, however, when he related the anti-Jacobite rising—an event which is not related by Ibn al-Qilāʿī, but of which Duwayhī gave the following account:

In 1488 the Jacobites were expelled from Jibbat Bsharrī. The bishop Yaʿqūb (3) and the notables of Ihdin, having learnt and made certain that the priest Yaʿqūb and the Abyssinian [monks] were living in the monastery of Mār Yaʿqūb (4), enjoined them to correct their beliefs. When they did not heed [the warnings, the bishop and the notables of Ihdin] ordained as bishop the priest Ibrāhīm ibn Ḥablāṣ and gave him charge of the monastery. [The Abyssinians] could not bear to have him direct their affairs, so they left for the valley of Ḥadshīt. There, protected by the *shidyāq* Jirjis ibn al-Ḥājj Ḥasan (5), they took residence in the monastery of Mār Jirjis, known after them as *Dayr al-Ḥbāsh* (Monastery of the Abyssinians). *Shidyāq* Jirjis, who was the sheikh of Ḥadshīt, and the *muqaddam* ʿAbd al-Munʿim who followed his counsels [took the action of people of Ihdin as a challenge to their authority]. Since they were not strong enough to attack the Ihdinites, they asked the sons of Zaʿzūʿ, the *muqaddamīn* of Bshinnātā (6), for help. The latter collected the men of

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(1) *Ibid.*, p. 220. Duwayhī here used Ibn al-Qilāʿī as a source. For further discussion see above, p. 80 *et seq.*

(2) Duwayhī, *TA*, p. 221.

(3) This Yaʿqūb was the bishop of Ihdin (1463-1513). Duwayhī, *TA*, p. 229.

(4) For the priest Yaʿqūb and his Abyssinian monks who resided in the monastery of Mār Yaʿqūb in Ihdin, see above, p. 148, fn. 7.

(5) See above, p. 148, fn. 7. *Shidyāq* Jirjis came originally from Nāblus, in central Palestine.

(6) Bshinnātā, a town in aḍ-Ḍinniyya, was apparently the seat of the *muqaddamīn* of that district.

aḍ-Ḍinniyya (1) and advanced on Ihdin on Sunday morning (2). Hearing of their approach, the people of Ihdin waylaid them at Ḥamīnā (3); and when the people of aḍ-Ḍinniyya descended from the mountain they fell on them and slaughtered them in the field (*marja*) of Tūlā (4). When the Jacobites heard the news, they were filled with fear and they dispersed. Some of them went to Ḥardīn, some to Kafarḥawrā (5), and some escaped by sea to Cyprus. As for the priest Ya'qūb and his companions, they went to the monastery of Mār Mūsā in the wilderness (6).

In 1510, Duwayhī continued, many Maronites emigrated to distant countries because of the excess of tyranny—probably the fiscal tyranny of the last Burjī Mamluk sultans. From Jubayl alone, he said, 120 people left for Cyprus in a ship. Duwayhī listed the names of some of these emigrants, adding that many of them returned to their country when they found Christian rule in Cyprus (under the Venetians, 1489-1570) even worse than Moslem rule at home (7). Duwayhī referred here to the history of Ilyās of M'ād (8).

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(1) See above, p. 135, fn. 2.

(2) Duwayhī only mentioned that it was on a Sunday morning, without giving the date.

(3) I have not been able to identify Ḥamīnā, a place probably near Ihdin in Jibbat Bsharrī.

(4) Tūlā is a small village in Jibbat Bsharrī, not to be confused with the village of Tūlā in the Batrūn district.

(5) Kafarḥawrā is another village in Jibbat Bsharrī on the lower course of Nahr Qādīshā, nearer to Tripoli and the coast.

(6) Duwayhī, *TA*, p. 218-219. I have not been able to identify the monastery of Mār Mūsā in the wilderness (*Mār Mūsā fī'l-barriyya*).

(7) For the Venetian administration in Cyprus, see G. Hill, *History of Cyprus*, III, p. 765 *et seq.*

(8) For Ilyās of M'ād see above, p. 16. In his history of M'ād, the anonymous author of the *mukhtaṣar* of Ibn al-Qilā'ī (MS Bibliothèque Orientale 57, f.25) said, referring to Ilyās of M'ād, that the tyranny and scarcity which prevailed in Lebanon in 1500 forced many families from the Jubayl district (where conditions were particularly bad), from the Batrūn district, and from elsewhere to emigrate. Some left for Cyprus, while others went to 'Akkār (north-east of Tripoli) and to Bilād Bishāra (Upper Galilee). Besides, many people

Duwayhī dealt at length with the religious history of the Maronites under Mamluk rule, especially in *Radd at-tuham...*, and compiled a mass of evidence to prove that the Maronites had remained faithful to Rome throughout this period. Here he contradicted the pilgrims and papal legates who visited Lebanon during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and made unfavourable comments on the orthodoxy of the Maronites. Indeed, the Maronites do not appear to have separated from Rome after their conversion by Aimery in c. 1180, but their attachment to the Holy See after the departure of the Crusaders from Syria was not firm. Lapses into heterodoxy, like the one which took place under *Muqaddam* ʿAbd al-Munʿim, indicate that even though the official Maronite church may have been as strictly orthodox as Duwayhī insisted it was, the common run of Maronites were not particularly attached to their Roman orthodoxy and were easily attracted to the heresy of their Monophysite neighbours. Brother Felix Fabri, who made a pilgrimage to the Holy Land in 1484, left the following account of the Maronites:

> There dwell in Jerusalem Christians called Maronites, who are heretics, and believe that Christ has only one will and one energy. They ring bells as we do whereas all other Eastern Christians call people to church by beating on a board. In their common talk they use the Saracen tongue, but in their services the Chaldean. Once they came back to the one Church, but have long since fallen away therefrom....
>
> Many who write concerning these Eastern Christians say that they are free from heresies, and praise their simplicity of life. This was indeed true in old times — two hundred years ago — but since then all of them, save only the Latins, have become tainted with the worst of errors, and become daily more so; for they have no doctors or preachers of the Catholic faith... (1).

died. Duwayhī mentioned the emigration under the year 1510 (*TA*, p. 227-228). He added that Pope Leo X wrote to Leonardo, the Doge of Venice, requesting him to have the Maronites living in Cyprus treated with more consideration. The Pope had received complaints about this matter from Patriarch Shamʿūn. For this document (dated September 13, 1515) see T. Anaissi, *Bullarium Maronitarum*, p. 31.

(1) Felix Fabri, *The book of wanderings of brother Felix Fabri*, translated by Aubrey Stewart (London, 1897), II, p. 389-392.

Francesco Suriano (1) agreed with Felix Fabri. "Since then [1180?], as time went on," he wrote, "many errors and sundry heresies grew among them" (2). Father Pietro Verniero, a Franciscan monk who died in 1660, spoke of the Maronites as follows:

> Although..., due to the influence of the Jacobites, they had relapsed from time to time into some errors, they all came back promptly to render obedience to the Apostolic See and, in every case, they were soon relieved from these errors with the help of the learned and holy fathers... as in the year 1215, with the help of Aimery, then Patriarch of Antioch... and in the year 1450, with the help of Fra Gryphon and Fra Gabriele [Jibrā'īl ibn al-Qilā'ī] of the Lesser Brothers and finally in the year 1579 and 1580 with the help of the fathers Giovan Battista Eliano and Giovanni Bruno, the Jesuits, legates of Pope Gregory XIII.... For this reason they never deserved to be called schismatics and heretics (3).

That the Maronites, for whom Frankish rule had provided a means of constant contact with Rome, should have reverted to heterodoxy after the departure of the Franks does not seem unnatural. The Maronites, however, do not appear to have appreciated the fact that their continual relapses into heterodoxy were leading to a break with Rome. Their willingness to be brought back to the Catholic tradition by Latin missionaries, and the fact that some Maronites like Ibn al-Qilā'ī went to Rome and returned as missionaries to their own people prove that. It is possibly because the Maronites lacked a firm link with Rome after the Crusades were over that they occasionally fell under the influence of the Jacobites.

In writing the history of the Maronite church after the departure of the Franks, Duwayhī attempted to disprove the claims made by certain Church historians and Western travellers that the Maronites had to be reconverted to Catholicism on several occasions because they had broken with Rome. He began by

(1) See above, p. 26, fn. 1.

(2) F. Suriano, *Il trattato...*, p. 69.

(3) P. Pietro Verniero di Montepiloso, *Croniche ovvero Annali di Terra Santa* (P. Girolamo Golubovich, *Biblioteca bio-bibliographica della Terra Santa e dell'Oriente francescano*, Florence 1913, vol. I), p. 26-27.

refuting the claims of Wilamo (Guillaume Postel?) (1) and Arnaldus Albertinus (2) (the former referring to the latter), who said that the Maronites were excommunicated by the Council of Constance (1414) because they had returned to their original heresy and separated from the Church after they had been converted to Catholicism and after their patriarch had attended the Lateran Council of 1215 (3). Duwayhī adequately refuted this claim. The Council of Constance, he said, was not concerned with the Maronites, nor did it examine the affairs of the Eastern churches. Its purpose was to consider the problems relating to the papacy and the Empire, and to examine the heretical views of John Wycliff and John Hus (4). Duwayhī suggested that the authors of this claim had confused the Council of Constance (due to a similarity in the place names) with the Sixth Œcumenical Council which was held in Constantinople in 680, and at which, according to Eutychius, the Maronites were condemned for being Monothelite (5).

Next Duwayhī refuted the claim that the Maronites were reconverted to Catholicism at the Council of Florence in 1439 (6) along with the Jacobites, the Syrians, and the Chaldeans (7). According to Duwayhī, this could not have been true because the Maronites were already in union with Rome at the time.

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(1) See above, p. 104, fn. 1. His claim is quoted *verbatim* by Duwayhī.

(2) See above, p. 104, fn. 2. His claim is also quoted *verbatim* by Duwayhī.

(3) The claims of "Wilamo" and Albertinus are quoted by Duwayhī in *TTM*, p. 380, and refuted in *ibid.*, p. 381 *et seq.*

(4) For the Council of Constance see M. Creighton, *A history of the Papacy from the Great Schism to the sack of Rome* (London, 1897), I, p. 307-360; II, p. 1-116. For a full account of the sessions and decisions of the Council, see C.-J. Hefele, *Histoire des Conciles...*, VII, p. 108-584. The Council of Constance was in no way concerned with the Maronites.

(5) Ibn Baṭrīq, *Tārīkh*, II, p. 12-13.

(6) See above, p. 79, fn. 4.

(7) Duwayhī, *TTM*, p. 388 *et seq.*

Duwayhī had his own version of the role played by the Maronites at the Council of Florence:

Patriarch Yūḥannā al-Jājī [1404-1445] succeeded to the see of Antioch before the meeting of the fathers at Florence; but he was unable to send a request for confirmation from Rome because of the dangers of sea travel and [because] no one who knew the language of the Franks could be found [to undertake the journey]. Then Fra Juan, the superior of the [Franciscan] monks of Jerusalem in Beirut, came to [the Patriarch] and informed him that his term of office as superior had ended and that he intended to return to the land of the Christians. So the Patriarch sent him as his messenger to the head of the Apostolic See and ordered him to request his confirmation and to return with the pallium of office from Pope Eugene [IV]. Fra Juan travelled to Florence to attend the Council and to inform the Pope about the matter, and the Patriarch and the leaders and notables of the community sent with him letters requesting confirmation, as was the custom, and giving assurance that they would obey and accept whatever decisions the fathers [at the Council] would reach. Their letters were still preserved in Rome in the days of the bishop Jibrā'īl ibn al-Qilā'ī, as he himself attests in the letter which he wrote to Patriarch Sham'ūn al-Ḥadathī, saying: "From 282 years down to our own day your oaths of allegiance and your signatures, witnessed by Brother Gryphon, Brother Alexander, and Brother Simon are found in Rome; and earlier ones witnessed by Brother Juan, the superior of Beirut, who represented your patriarch Yūḥannā al-Jājī at the Council of Florence" (1). And when Eugene was assured [of the good faith of the Maronites], he confirmed Yūḥannā al-Jājī as head of the see of Antioch and sent to him with his legate Fra Juan a crown and a pallium, as Ibn al-Qilā'ī says in *Madīḥat Kisrawān*:

"Yūḥannā al-Jājī was patriarch;
He received a crown and blessings from the Pope.
He sent [a legate] to the Council, and did not go there [himself];
And [the Pope] confirmed him shepherd of [the people of] Mārūn" (2).

Here again Duwayhī had grounds for his argument. Apart from relying on Ibn al-Qilā'ī, he used two letters (quoted in his own Arabic translation) which Eugene IV sent to Yūḥannā al-Jājī in 1439 and in 1441 (3). Since the Council of Florence had

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(1) *Cf.* Ibn al-Qilā'ī, *Sham'ūn*, p. 101-102.
(2) Duwayhī, *TTM*, p. 388-389. *Cf. Madīḥa...*, p. 62; above, p. 78.
(3) Duwayhī, *TTM*, p. 393-395, 390-392, respectively.

met to reconcile the Eastern Christians to Rome, the request for confirmation submitted by the Maronite patriarch's representative at the Council may have looked like a desire for a return to union (1). This became the official Roman interpretation. To disprove it Duwayhī quoted a letter, dated 1447, from Pope Nicholas V (1447-1455) to the Maronite patriarch Ya'qūb al-Ḥadathī (1445-1458), the successor of Yūḥannā al-Jājī. Actually, this letter implies that the Maronites had joined the Catholic Church at the Council of Florence, but Duwayhī thoroughly misunderstood it:

> And we ask you, O brother, and request you in [the name] of our Lord Jesus Christ to try your utmost possible to walk in the steps of your predecessor, *preserving the union which was brought about in the time of our afore-mentioned predecessor* (2) [Eugene IV] and keeping the agreement between you and your community and us and the Roman Church. For we are following the ways of our afore-mentioned predecessor and we hope... that we shall continue in this union. And if you keep to it, we promise you, O brother, all that we and this church can afford of help and blessings (3).

The Council of Florence was an important event in the history of the relations between the Maronites and Rome. Beginning with 1439 there was no longer any doubt about the orthodoxy of the Maronite church. The "errors" of the Maronites after that date, which many Catholic authors noted, must have been abuses of practice due to ignorance, rather than doctrinal errors. "The most decided adversaries of the perpetual orthodoxy of the Maronites," says Henri Lammens, "must agree that since the Council of Florence their beliefs have been absolutely irreproachable" (4). In the period following the Council, the Franciscan monks in Beirut and Jerusalem, upon the suggestion of the Popes, paid frequent visits to the Maronites whose condition, according to the reports

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(1) Henri Lammens gives Duwayhī's version of the story in "Fra Gryphon et le Liban au XVe siècle," *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien*, IV (1899), p. 72.

(2) Italics mine.

(3) Translated from T. Anaissi, *Bullarium Maronitarum*, p. 17-18. The letter is quoted in Arabic translation by Duwayhī in *TTM*, p. 403.

(4) H. Lammens, "Fra Gryphon...", p. 87.

of those monks, was wretched. The most outstanding among those Franciscan brothers were Gandolph of Sicily, Gryphon of Flanders, Alexander Ariosti of Bologna (1), and the Maronite historian Jibrā'īl ibn al-Qilā'ī.

Duwayhī rejected the claim that the Maronites were brought back to the True Faith and to union with Rome by Fra Gryphon in 1450 (2). He rightly argued that this could not have been the case because Yūḥannā al-Jājī had been confirmed by Eugene IV in 1439 and also because Nicholas V had testified to that patriarch's orthodoxy in his letter to Ya'qūb al-Ḥadathī in 1447. During the whole of Fra Gryphon's stay in Syria, Duwayhī continued, the Maronite patriarchs were Yūḥannā al-Jājī and Ya'qūb al-Ḥadathī, both of whom were orthodox in their faith (3). Indeed, Fra Gryphon had not converted the Maronites to Catholicism but had merely attended to their religious instruction, correcting the abuses of practice which had crept into their church through the years (4). Among other things, he prepared a special set of questions for the confession of the ignorant (5). The Maronite church itself, apparently, had felt the need for such help and instruction. Patriarch Buṭrus Ibn Ḥassān (1468-1492) (6) had requested Pope Paul II (1464-1471) to send religious instructors to Lebanon; and, in response to a similar request, Pope

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(1) See R. Ristelhueber, *Les traditions françaises au Liban* (Paris, 1917), p. 75-76.

(2) Duwayhī quoted this claim, made by Murqus al-Ashbūnī (Mark of Lisbon?), in *TTM*, p. 399-400. F. Suriano said that Fra Gryphon came to Lebanon from Palestine in 1462 and stayed there for ten years, converting the Maronites and extirpating their heresies. *Il trattato...*, p. 69-70. H. Lammens says that Gryphon came to Lebanon in 1450 with Fra François of Barcelona and that he merely corrected abuses in the Maronite church. "Fra Gryphon...", p. 79, 87.

(3) Duwayhī, *TTM*, p. 401-405.

(4) H. Lammens, *op. cit.*, p. 87.

(5) F. Suriano, *op. cit.*, p. 69.

(6) See above, p. 28, fn. 2.

Sixtus IV (1471-1484) appointed in 1475 Fra Pietro of Napoli, the vicar general of the Franciscans in Lebanon, as his commissioner to the Maronites, to be followed in that office by his successors (1). Duwayhī mentioned that in 1475, upon the insistent demands of the Maronites, Sixtus IV asked the vicar general of the Lesser Brothers (Franciscans) to send one or two of his monks to visit the Maronites and to give them the necessary instruction (2).

The correspondence between Pope Leo X (1513-1521) and Patriarch Sham'ūn (1492-1524) brings to a close the history of the Maronites in the Mamluk period. Duwayhī dealt with this correspondence in detail (3). In 1513, he said, Patriarch Sham'ūn sent his legate to Rome to request confirmation from Leo X. The legate carried with him a letter from the vicar general of the Franciscan order in Beirut commending the Maronites for their orthodoxy, their obedience to Rome, and their patient endurance of Moslem tyranny. Leo X was pleased with this letter and with Sham'ūn's request for confirmation; and he sent the legate back with a letter inquiring about the various practices of the Maronite church (4). The legate returned to Rome in the following year (March 8, 1514 — 1515 according to the Gregorian calendar) (5) with a letter from the patriarch explaining the doctrines and usages of the Maronite church and its unbroken union with Rome and asking for certain favours. He also carried with him all the letters which the earlier popes had addressed to the Patriarch's

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(1) P. Verniero, *Croniche...*, p. 27.

(2) Duwayhī, *TA*, p. 215-216.

(3) *Ibid.*, p. 229-232.

(4) This letter (T. Anaissi, *Bullarium Maronitarum*, p. 27-29) is dated May 25, 1514.

(5) The letter of Leo X which arrived before the second departure of Sham'ūn's legate to Rome is dated May 25, 1514. See above footnote. Duwayhī did not give the exact date of the first departure of Sham'ūn's legate. He simply said that he left in 1513. It may have been early in 1514 according to the Gregorian calendar.

predecessors (1). At the same time, Francesco Suriano, Franciscan superior in Jerusalem, wrote to Leo X testifying to the orthodoxy of the Maronites and to their obedience to Rome, and adding that they only differed from the Roman Church in some Eastern usages which Rome, through the intercession of Fra Gryphon, had allowed them to keep. In 1515, Leo X sent Sham'ūn his confirmation, answered his other requests, and urged him to alter certain practices in his church. Duwayhī gave an account of the bull which accompanied the confirmation (2). The Pope also wrote in that year to Francesco Suriano asking him to pay frequent visits to the Maronite patriarch and to his people and to guide them in doctrinal matters when such guidance was needed. In his book *Il trattato di Terra Santa e dell'Oriente*, Suriano spoke of his appointment as the commissioner of Leo X to the Maronites:

> Finally, for the same cause, Pope Leo X sent me as his commissioner... in the year of the Lord 1515, with many presents of cloth and clothing, and vestments of gold and brocade. From this affair followed great honour from God, the salvation of those people, and the commendation of the Apostolic faith, to the praises of the Omnipotent God, amen (3).

This is by no means all that Duwayhī related about the religious history of the Maronites in the Mamluk period. His history is full of details about the Maronite church, its patriarchs, its bishops, and its relations with Rome. In fact, this is the most complete and best documented part of Duwayhī's history of Lebanon before the Ottoman conquest, and the part in which he was, perhaps, most interested. Besides, his refutation of the claims made against the orthodoxy of the Maronites in the Mamluk period is basically sound, unlike his refutation of William of Tyre's claim.

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(1) This explains why the papal correspondence with the Maronite patriarchs which Ibn al-Qilā'ī found at Qannūbīn is no longer available in the Maronite patriarchal archives.

(2) The letter, dated 1515, is found in T. Anaissi, *op. cit.*, p. 32-35 and J. Debs, *Perpétuelle orthodoxie des Maronites* (Arras, 1896), p. 19-20.

(3) F. Suriano, *op. cit.*, p. 71.

On the whole, Duwayhī's religious and secular history of the Maronites forms the most important part of his work. It is the part to which he paid most attention and which forms his main contribution as a historian. He tapped for it sources which had never yet been used, nor perhaps even known, and so wrote for the first time the history of his people. In contrast, his general history of the Near East and his history of non-Maronite Lebanon merely restate the Arabic sources. There are, it is true, mistakes in Duwayhī's history of the Maronites. His dates and his conclusions are in some instances dubious, and his insistence on the absolute and continuous orthodoxy of the Maronites and on their unbroken union with Rome led him at times to wrong interpretations. His history, however, remains a remarkable work revealing the diligence and critical powers of its author and his ability to compile a co-ordinated and intelligible history from fragmentary information. It is for this reason that Duwayhī fully deserves to be called "the father of Maronite history."

III

THE HISTORY OF ṬANNŪS ASH-SHIDYĀQ

During the period which followed the French expedition to Egypt and the rise of Muḥammad 'Alī Pasha, Lebanon became important in the game of international politics. The country, a grouping of Maronite and Druze mountain fiefs which the Ma'nids had first brought together in the early seventeenth century, became involved in the Eastern Question, and the European powers began to take sides in Lebanese religious and feudal rivalries and quarrels. As a result, European interest in the country's political history and feudal structure increased—an interest reflected in such works of the period as Colonel Churchill's *Mount Lebanon* (London, 1853). It was now that the Maronite lay historian first appeared, not so much interested in the religious history of his own community as in the history of Lebanon, which he considered as a political unit composed of religious and feudal parts. In many ways, the history of Ṭannūs ash-Shidyāq best represents the early stages of Maronite lay historiography.

The family of Ṭannūs ibn Yūsuf ash-Shidyāq had served Lebanese emirs (Christian, Moslem, and Druze) as household clerks and teachers since certainly the early seventeenth century (1). They represented a class of lay Maronites which had shared with the clergy the monopoly of learning before the spread of popular

(1) Ṭannūs ASH-SHIDYĀQ, *Tārīkh wa a'māl banū ash-Shidyāq* (hence MS *Family History*), p. 4-7. This manuscript was kindly lent to me by Dr. César Chidiac, its present owner.

education by the Catholic and Protestant missions in the nineteenth century. As the clerks and teachers of the emirs, the Shidyāqs and the other families which followed their profession formed an aristocracy of the second rank which used the title *shaykh*—a title also used by high-ranking feudal chieftains (1).

Manṣūr ash-Shidyāq, the grandfather of Ṭannūs, left his native Kisrawān in 1741 to serve the Mitwālī emir Ḥaydar al-Ḥarfūsh in Baalbek. Two years later he moved to the Biqā', and afterwards to al-Ḥāzmiyya, in the neighbourhood of Beirut. Engaged in 1755 to manage the affairs of the young Shihābī emir Qāsim 'Umar (father of the famous Bashīr II, b.1767), he travelled with the Emir to Istanbul and assisted him in his vain attempt to secure the governorship of the Shūf and Kisrawān. Manṣūr later left Qāsim 'Umar; but the Emir called him back to his service in 1763. It was then that Manṣūr came to live in al-Ḥadath, near Beirut (2), where some of his descendants still live today.

On the death of Qāsim 'Umar in 1768, Manṣūr ash-Shidyāq acted as guardian to his children for one year, after which he entered the service of two other Shihābī emirs. When he died in 1793, his second son Abū Ḥusayn Yūsuf followed him in this position. Yūsuf continued to serve in his father's position until 1805, when he was engaged to serve another Shihābī emir, Ḥasan 'Umar. This emir asked Yūsuf to move back to 'Ashqūt, the ancestral home of the Shidyāqs in Kisrawān.

Yūsuf ash-Shidyāq had five sons: Ṭannūs, Manṣūr, As'ad, Ghālib, and Fāris. Of the five, three became well-known. Fāris, the youngest of his brothers (who became a convert to Islam and changed his name to Aḥmad Fāris), achieved fame as a leading

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(1) In the letters which Ṭannūs received from his brother Fāris (at present in the possession of Dr. César Chidiac), Ṭannūs is always addressed as *Shaykh*. Another clerical family which had the right to this title were the Yāzijis. The title was also used by the Lebanese feudal families who were not emirs or *muqaddamīn*.

(2) MS *Family history*, p. 8-13. This al-Ḥadath must not be confused with the town of the same name in Jibbat Bsharrī.

figure in nineteenth century Arabic letters. He died in 1887. As'ad, the third son of Yūsuf ash-Shidyāq, is still remembered as the first Protestant martyr in the Near East, and perhaps the only one. He was converted by Protestant missionaries in 1825; and in the following year his brother Manṣūr handed him over to the Maronite patriarch, who had him imprisoned and tortured, until he died in 1830 at the age of 33 (1). The eldest of the five, Ṭannūs, became the best known Maronite historian of the first half of the nineteenth century.

Ṭannūs ash-Shidyāq was born probably in 1794 (2); and he was some ten years old when his family moved to 'Ashqūt in Kisrawān. Nothing is known about his early education (he probably studied at home). In 1809 he began receiving lessons in Syriac and Arabic grammar from a certain Yūsuf al-Ḥukayyim, in the neighbouring village of Ghusṭā (3); but the lessons were soon interrupted. Before the end of that year the governing emir Bashīr II appointed Yūsuf ash-Shidyāq taxgatherer in ash-Shuwayr (in the Matn); and the following year he was also put in charge of taxation and conscription in Zaḥla (the Biqā'). He therefore left 'Ashqūt and returned with his family to al-Ḥadath, where Ṭannūs taught his brother As'ad the little Syriac and Arabic grammar he had learnt at Ghusṭā. In 1813 Ṭannūs was sent to the college of 'Ayn Waraqa (4); but he was forced to discontinue his studies

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(1) According to Ṭannūs, his brother Manṣūr was also a man of letters and the author of many books in Syriac and Arabic. *Ibid.*, p. 46.

(2) There is no mention of the date of his birth in MS *Family history*. Considering, however, that As'ad died in 1830 at the age of 33 (born 1798) and that Manṣūr died in 1842 at the age of 46 (born 1796), Ṭannūs, being older than both, and probably in direct precession, must have been born in approximately 1794.

(3) *Ibid.*, p. 22.

(4) The college of 'Ayn Waraqa (founded in 1789 by As'ad Ghandūr) was the leading Maronite educational institution in the early nineteenth century. Most Lebanese who rose to distinction in the world of letters in the first half of the nineteenth century (*e.g.* Buṭrus al-Bustānī) had received their schooling

there because of frequent headaches. During the following year his brother As'ad was enrolled at 'Ayn Waraqa instead; and in 1818, after As'ad had left school, Ṭannūs studied with him moral philosophy (*'ilm adh-dhimma*) (1).

In the meantime, Ṭannūs had already started on a clerical career. In 1810, after barely one year's tutoring in grammar, he was engaged as a clerk by the Shihābī emir Salmān al-'Alī, and he accompanied that emir on a conscripting mission in the Shaḥḥār district (south of Beirut). In 1818 he turned to commerce, and travelled on business in the following year to Damascus, where he also performed a small political mission for the Shihābī emirs (2). Ṭannūs remained a merchant for the rest of his life without giving up his career in the service of the Shihābs. The emirs used him as an agent and a spy, and he became well versed in the political intrigues of his day. In 1821 he took part in the fighting in Syria during the struggle between Bashīr II and the *wālī* of Damascus (3).

Ṭannūs appears to have been a man of many responsibilities. His father's death in 1821 left him in charge of his mother, his two sisters 'Adlā and Wardiyya, and his youngest brother Fāris. Later, a wife and two sons (Fāris and Najā) were added to the family (4), and the death of his brothers Ghālib (1840) and Manṣūr (1842) placed three more infants in his charge (5). While

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there. The school was a monastic foundation. It made a point of encouraging the study of Arabic literature. It also taught, among other things, Syriac and Latin and the canonical sciences. See G. ANTONIUS, *The Arab awakening* (London, 1938), p. 38, 47.

(1) MS *Family history*, p. 26-27.

(2) *Ibid.*, p. 27-28.

(3) *Ibid.*, p. 33-36. H. LAMMENS, *La Syrie...*, II, p. 143-144.

(4) The date of Ṭannūs's marriage does not appear in any of the available documents. For his sons, see MS *Family history*, p. 2. Fāris, his first child, died in infancy.

(5) *Ibid.*, p. 45-46. Ghālib left one son, and Manṣūr two, Ẓāhir and Bishāra.

the number of his dependents increased, his commerce, it seems, did not prosper. His account book, which is still available, shows a deficit for most of the years between 1821 and 1856 (1). To meet the growing expenses of his family Ṭannūs needed an additional income, which he earned through teaching and through copying books. The titles of several works which he appears to have copied in his excellent hand are listed in his account book among the sales (2), and so are fees from students he taught (3). Ṭannūs also began to study medicine in 1823 (it is not clear how); and he started practicing medicine in 1829 (4).

In spite of his many responsibilities, Ṭannūs continued throughout his life to improve his education, which had been neglected during his youth. Apart from medicine, he studied logic in 1832 (5), Turkish and Italian in 1835 (6), science (*'ilm aṭ-ṭabī'a*) in 1848 (7), and jurisprudence in 1849 (8). In that last year also he studied rhetoric (*bayān*) with Nāṣīf al-Yāzijī, the well-known Lebanese man of letters of the first half of the nineteenth century (9).

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(1) See *Mufakkarat Ṭannūs ash-Shidyāq* (American University of Beirut, MS 647.1, Sh 55).

(2) For examples of such books, see *ibid.*, I, p. 10, 119.

(3) MS *Family history* gives the names of some of the students taught by Ṭannūs ash-Shidyāq. In 1825 he taught Arabic to two Americans in Beirut (*ibid.*, p. 37). In 1826 he tutored two young Shihābī emirs in Arabic grammar (p. 38). Five years later, in 1831, he taught Arabic to Carlos and Mauritius Craus (?), the sons of a Spanish general residing in Egypt, who had come to Lebanon for a year (p. 41). In 1847 he taught grammar to two other Shihābī emirs; and two years later he was teaching four more Shihābīs (p. 48-49). In 1850 he taught Arabic to an Italian called De Marchi (p. 49).

(4) *Ibid.*, p. 36, 39.

(5) *Ibid.*, p. 41.

(6) *Ibid.*, p. 44. Shidyāq also knew Persian. G. Graf (*op.cit.*, IV, p. 295 *et seq.*) listed a Persian-Arabic dictionary among his works.

(7) MS *Family history*, p. 48.

(8) *Ibid.*

(9) *Ibid.*

Ṭannūs died in 1861 (1), two years after the publication of his main historical work, *Akhbār al-a'yān fī Jabal Lubnān*. Unlike his brothers As'ad (who became a Protestant) and Fāris (who became a Moslem), he remained a pious and faithful Maronite, in spite of his contacts with Protestant missionaries. In the family history which he wrote, he gave a mildly reproachful account of his brother As'ad's conversion to Protestantism (2).

Ṭannūs ash-Shidyāq started writing in 1833, when he summarized Duwayhī's *Nisbat al-Mawārina* (the first part of *Tārīkh aṭ-ṭā'ifa al-mārūniyya*) (3). In that same year he compiled a dictionary of Lebanese colloquial Arabic (4). In the following year he wrote an abridgement of a book entitled *Ghāyat al-itqān* (5); and in 1835, after having studied Turkish for one year, he began writing a book on the language and its grammar (6) — a work which he may have left unfinished. Shidyāq began preparing another dictionary of some kind in 1844 (7), and he made a summary of Duwayhī's *Tārīkh al-azmina* in 1845 (8). In 1848 he wrote a history, now lost, which he called *Tārīkh mulūk al-'Arab wa'l-Islām* (History of the rulers of the Arabs and of Islam) (9). In 1850

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(1) G. Graf, *op.cit.*, IV, p. 295.

(2) MS *Family history*, p. 38-40. Ṭannūs at first tried to induce his brother to recant. Finally, he became convinced that As'ad had lost his reason and was no longer responsible for his actions.

(3) *Ibid.*, p. 41. I have not been able to find or locate a copy of Shidyāq's summary of *Nisbat al-Mawārina*.

(4) *Ibid.* I have not been able to find a copy of this dictionary. Dr. Eli Smith, the American Protestant missionary, reported having seen it in 1854 (*ZDMG*, IX, 1855, p. 269). Graf mentioned a manuscript of it in the possession of the Shidyāq family (G. Graf, *loc.cit.*).

(5) MS *Family history*, p. 42.

(6) *Ibid.*, p. 44.

(7) *Ibid.*, p. 48.

(8) The manuscript of Shidyāq's *mukhtaṣar* of *Tārīkh al-azmina* (*Mukhtaṣar tārīkh ad-Duwayhī*) is in the possession of Dr. César Chidiac. It is dated 1845. In MS *Family history* (p. 48) Shidyāq said that the *mukhtaṣar* was made in 1848.

(9) *Ibid.*

he completed a history of his family (*Tārīkh wa a'māl banū ash-Shidyāq*) (1), which is the main available source for his biography; and in 1855 he completed his most important historical work, *Akhbār al-a'yān...*, to which he added a section on the natural and political geography of Lebanon (2).

In the introduction to his summary of *Tārīkh al-azmina*, Shidyāq made clear his position as a historian:

> Finding that the history of the Maronite patriarch Isṭifān ad-Duwayhī of Ihdin is, for the most part, truthful in what it relates, but that [its author] had dealt at length with the history of churches and monks and only briefly with the history of lay leaders and notables..., I removed from it what was unnecessary, keeping [only] that which is of interest. I [also] corrected its wrong dates... [and] polished its sentences and vocabulary, rendering its vague terms in good Arabic... (3).

Thus, with all his piety, Shidyāq took little interest in the "history of churches and monks," preferring to it the history of the "lay leaders and notables"—the old Lebanese feudal families whose history accounted for the greater part of the history of Lebanon since the Ottoman conquest. These "lay leaders and notables" were also the employers of Shidyāq and of other members of his family, and he certainly had a personal interest in their history.

Most of these feudal families were non-Christian, although the ruling branch of the Shihābs had become Maronite for political expediency. Other Shihābs were Moslem. The 'Imāds, the Jānbalāṭs, and the Talḥūqs were Druze. The Khāzins of Kisrawān, perhaps the most powerful Maronite feudal family at the time, did not allow their religion to prejudice their political activities.

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(1) *Ibid.*, p. 49.

(2) *Ibid.*, in a note added to the manuscript probably by the author's nephew Ẓāhir ash-Shidyāq, the original owner of MS *Family history*. It should be added here that Ṭannūs ash-Shidyāq wrote verse. G. Graf (*op.cit.*, IV, p. 96) mentions an anthology of his verse in a private collection. See also MS 2*Family history*, p. 27, 49. Judging by the samples found in MS *Family history*, Shidyāq's verse must have been of poor quality.

(3) MS *Mukhtaṣar tārīkh ad-Duwayhī*, p. 1.

In earlier times they had been responsible for the upbringing of a Druze emir, Fakhr ad-Dīn II of the Ma'ns (1585-1635). The atmosphere in which Shidyāq lived was, therefore, a secular one in which sectarianism was of political rather than religious significance. Maronite and non-Maronite Lebanon, Christian and Druze Lebanon, were no longer entities apart, each with its own history. Since the Ottoman conquest they had grown increasingly involved with one another; and they were already one lay historical unit at the time of the accession of Bashīr II in 1788. Unlike Ibn al-Qilā'ī and Duwayhī, Shidyāq wrote history as a Lebanese and not as a Maronite.

This change in the times did not only reflect itself in a shift of interest or emphasis from religious to secular history. It is also shown by the improved quality of the Arabic used. The early nineteenth century witnessed the revival of the language in its classical form at the hands of Lebanese Christian writers; and throughout the century men like Nāṣīf al-Yāzijī, Buṭrus al-Bustānī, and Aḥmad Fāris ash-Shidyāq (the brother of the historian) were laying the foundations of modern Arabic literature. As the lay spirit among the Maronites (and among other Christians) grew, the use of Syriac in writing declined; and classical Arabic, written in the Arabic script, replaced the Lebanese vernacular and the pseudo-classical Arabic written mostly in Karshūnī script, which had been used by Maronite writers since Ibn al-Qilā'ī. Ṭannūs ash-Shidyāq wrote correct Arabic. His style is of no outstanding quality, but the number of mistakes he made in grammar and spelling is negligible.

Akhbār al-a'yān..., the only work of Shidyāq which this study will consider, was completed in its final form in 1855 (1); but an earlier version had already been completed before 1847. Eli Smith, an American Protestant missionary in Beirut, wrote to the *ZDMG* on August 23, 1847 reporting about a book (*Geschichte des Libanon*, or History of Lebanon) which Shidyāq had offered to him for sale

(1) See above, p. 167.

at 1000 Turkish piastres, or nine English pounds (1). In another letter to the *ZDMG* dated June 11, 1855, Eli Smith reported that Ṭannūs ash-Shidyāq had rewritten and expanded his history of Lebanon, and that Buṭrus al-Bustānī had brought it to the American Press to have it printed. Smith, who was in charge of the American Press, added: "We take no responsibility for the correctness of the work" (2). *Akhbār al-a'yān...* was printed under the supervision of Buṭrus al-Bustānī (3). The first and second parts, dealing with the natural and political geography of Lebanon and the genealogies of its feudal families, came out of the press on June 13, 1855. The third and last part, dealing with the history of Lebanon under the different dynasties, appeared on May 26, 1859.

In *Akhbār al-a'yān...*, Shidyāq dealt with the period in Lebanese history which extended from approximately the beginning of the Arab conquest to 1855. He did not treat his subject chronologically and divide it into periods, but took every family of *a'yān* (notables) separately, relating its history from its origin to the date of its extinction, or to his own day. Families which had served as governing dynasties (*wulāt*) in Lebanon were dealt with twice. The first time Shidyāq only considered their genealogy and family history; the second time he considered the history of their *wilāya* (period of governorship).

The work, in its printed form, is in 770 pages (4), and it is divided into three parts. In the first part (5), Shidyāq considered

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(1) Passages from this letter were published in the *ZDMG*, III (1849), p. 121.

(2) *ZDMG*, X (1856), p. 303.

(3) This appears on the title page of *Akhbār al-a'yān...*:

وقف عليه وناظر طبعه المعلم بطرس البستاني

(4) The last page of the printed edition is numbered 720. This is because 50 pages were missed in the printing of the second part, which necessitated the duplication of page numbers when the missing pages were added. Thus, the first page of the third part, which is numbered 201, should have been numbered 251. I have followed the correct pagination in my references, not the pagination as it appears in the book.

(5) *Akhbār al-a'yān...*, p. 6-34.

the natural and political geography of Lebanon in five chapters. In the first chapter (1) he defined the boundaries of Mount Lebanon and gave a general account of its population. In the second (2) he enumerated the eight main towns of the Phœnician coast (Tripoli, Batrūn, Jubayl, Jūniya, Beirut, Sidon, Tyre, and Acre) with brief historical notices about each. The third chapter(3) describes the courses of the nine principal rivers of Lebanon: Nahr Abū ʿAlī (the Qādīshā in its upper course), Nahr al-Jawz, Nahr Ibrāhīm, Nahr al-Kalb, Nahr Anṭilyās, Nahr Bayrūt, Nahr ad-Dāmūr, Nahr al-Awwalī, and Nahr al-Qāsimiyya (or al-Līṭānī). In the fourth chapter (4), Shidyāq considered the political geography of Lebanon, enumerating its feudal provinces and describing them in detail. This is the most important chapter in the first part of *Akhbār al-aʿyān...* since it gives a systematic and detailed description of the extent and boundaries of the feudal provinces and names the different families that held them. The fifth chapter (5) is simply a table of the male population of the feudal provinces, divided according to religion.

The second part of *Akhbār al-aʿyān...* (6) deals with the genealogies of the feudal families of Lebanon, relating the main historical events in which members of those families played leading or important roles. Shidyāq devoted one chapter to each family, and considered the families in three groups (Maronites, Druzes, and Sunnī or Shīʿī Moslems) (7), grouping the Shihābs (originally Sunnī Moslem) and the Billamaʿs (originally Druze) among the Maronite feudal families (8).

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(1) *Ibid.*, p. 6-8.

(2) *Ibid.*, p. 8-15.

(3) *Ibid.*, p. 15-18.

(4) *Ibid.*, p. 19-33.

(5) *Ibid.*, p. 34.

(6) *Ibid.*, p. 35-250.

(7) See table of contents in *ibid.*, p. 5.

(8) As an appendix to this part, Shidyāq gave an abridged version of the history of his own family. *Ibid.*, p. 233-250.

The last and longest part of *Akhbār al-aʿyān...* (1) deals with the *wulāt* or governors of Lebanon. Shidyāq used the term *wālī* (pl. *wulāt*) for the leading Lebanese feudal emirs whom the Ottoman government officially recognized as the governors of Lebanon, and also for the leading Lebanese (Maronite, Druze, or Moslem) chieftains of the Mamluk, Crusader, and earlier periods. He began with the *wilāya* of the "Mardaite" emirs and *muqaddamīn* in northern Lebanon, then proceeded (in separate chapters) to relate the governorships of the Buḥturids (whom he called the Tanūkhs), the Maʿnids, the Turkoman ʿAssāfs, the Kurdish Sayfās, the Shihābs, the Arslāns, and the Billamaʿs (2).

Shidyāq listed his sources at the end of his preface as follows:

1. Jibrā'īl al-Qilāʿī of Liḥfid.
2. Aḥmad ibn Shibāṭ [Ibn Sibāṭ] al-Faqīh al-Gharbī al-ʿĀlayhī.
3. Patriarch Isṭifān ad-Duwayhī of Ihdin, from his history of the Crusades (3) and *Nisbat al-Mawārina.*
4. Emir Ḥaydar Aḥmad ash-Shihābī of Lebanon (4).
5. The priest Ḥanāniyyā al-Munayyar of the Zūq (5).

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(1) *Ibid.*, p. 251-770.

(2) The histories of the different *wilāyāt* appear in *Akhbār al-aʿyān...* as follows: The Mardaites, p. 251-274; the Tanūkhs (or Buḥturids), p. 274-297; the Maʿnids, p. 297-395; the ʿAssāfs, p. 396-399; the Sayfās, p. 399-408; the Shihābs, p. 408-696; the Arslāns, p. 696-749; and the Billamaʿs, p. 750-770.

(3) Meaning *Tārīkh al-azmina* which, in several of its copies, starts with the first Crusade.

(4) Emir Ḥaydar Aḥmad ash-Shihābī (see above, p. 18, fn. 2) was born in 1760 and died in 1835. Ṭannūs ash-Shidyāq knew him personally; and Fāris ash-Shidyāq, the brother of Ṭannūs, assisted him in copying *Al-ghurar al-ḥisān...* in 1824. MS *Family history*, p. 37. For Shihābī see G. Graf, *op.cit.*, IV, p. 294-295.

(5) Ḥanāniyyā al-Munayyar, a Melchite historian and poet, was born in Zūq Maṣbaḥ (Kisrawān) in 1757 and died in 1820. In 1774 he entered the Melchite monastery of ash-Shuwayr as a monk. His historical works include a history of the Shuwayr monastic order (*Tārīkh ar-rahbana al-Ḥannāwiyya al-mulaqqaba bi'sh-Shuwayriyya*, MS Bibliothèque Orientale 41) and a history of the Shūf region in Lebanon, 1697-1807 (*Ad-durr al-marṣūf fī tārīkh Jabal ash-Shūf*), MSS ʿAshqūt 2 and Bibliothèque Orientale 42. See G. Graf, *op.cit.*, III, p. 242-244.

6. The two histories of Emir Fakhr ad-Dīn [II], by aṣ-Ṣafadī and al-Lubnānī (1).

7. The history of *Mu'allim* (Master) Buṭrus Karāma of Homs (2).

8. The priest Yūsuf as-Sim'ānī of Ḥaṣrūn (3).

9. The Sidon court collection of Shihāb genealogies (4).

10. Some Maronite genealogies from books printed in Italian and Syriac (5).

11. Some printed genealogies and stories about the early Jānbalāṭs (6).

12. Genealogies of the Druze sheikhs and their histories, as related orally by Sheikh Khaṭṭār Talḥūq (7).

13. The genealogies of the Khāzin and Ḥubaysh sheikhs, [related orally by] Patriarch Būlus Mas'ad (8).

14. My memoranda from the year 1820 until the last year of my history (9).

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(1) Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Khālidī aṣ-Ṣafadī (d.1625) wrote a history of the emirate of Fakhr ad-Dīn Ma'n (*Tārīkh Fakhr ad-Dīn ibn Ma'n*). See C. Brockelmann, *op.cit.*, II (Leiden, 1949), p. 373. Al-Khālidī's history was published in Beirut, in 1936, by Asad Rustum and Fu'ād Afrām al-Bustānī, under the title *Lubnān fī 'ahd al-amīr Fakhr ad-Dīn al-Ma'nī ath-thānī*. Neither Brockelmann nor Graf list a history of Fakhr ad-Dīn by "al-Lubnānī."

(2) Buṭrus Karāma, a Catholic Melchite poet, was born in Homs in 1774 and died in 1851. His *Tārīkh*, which is referred to by Shidyāq, has not been found. See G. Graf, *op.cit.*, IV, p. 303-305.

(3) For Yūsuf as-Sim'ānī (Joseph Assemanus), see above, p. 19, fn. 1.

(4) I have not been able to find the original of this official Shihāb genealogy; but a German translation of it was published by Professor Fleischer ("Ueber des syrische Fürstenhaus Benu-Schihab — Geschlechtsregister der Fürsten Benu-Schihab von dem hochgelahrten Sejjid Ahmed El-Bezri, Mufti der von Gott behüteten Stadt Saida") in *ZDMG*, V (1851), p. 46-59.

(5) I have come across no such books. Such genealogies may have appeared in books published by Maronite scholars in Europe in the eighteenth century.

(6) I have not been able to find a copy of the printed genealogy of the Jānbalāṭ family.

(7) Sheikh Khaṭṭār Talḥūq belonged to the Druze family which held the upper Gharb from the early eighteenth century. See below, p. 188-189. It appears from Shidyāq's account book that he (Shidyāq) was involved in affairs with this family.

(8) Patriarch Būlus Mas'ad was consecrated patriarch in 1854 and died in 1890. Ṭ. 'Anaysī, *Silsila...*, p. 69-70.

(9) I have not found the memoranda of Shidyāq in Dr. César Chidiac's

15. The history of al-Jazzār by Niqūlā at-Turk of Dayr al-Qamar (1).

It is interesting to examine the sources on which Shidyāq relied for the history of the Crusader and Mamluk periods. First we have the classics of Maronite historiography: Ibn al-Qilāʿī's *Madīḥa ʿalā Jabal Lubnān* and Duwayhī's two main works, *Tārīkh aṭ-ṭā'ifa al-mārūniyya* (of which only the first part is listed) and *Tārīkh al-azmina*. Shidyāq had previously made summaries of both these works by Duwayhī (2). Another Maronite history which he seems to have used, although he did not list it among his sources, was the *Risāla* (treatise) of Yūsuf Mārūn ad-Duwayhī (d.1780) (3) on which he depended, apparently, for his list of the Mardaite emirs (4). The only non-Maronite history which Shidyāq used for the mediæval period was the history of the Druze Ibn Sibāṭ, which Duwayhī had also used. Shidyāq also depended on the history of Ḥaydar ash-Shihābī, a Maronite of the second generation, whose history is mainly concerned with the non-Maronite feudal families (like the Shihābs before their conversion), although he made some mention of Maronite church history and of Mardaite

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collection, nor in any of the Libraries to which I have had access. It is possible that they still exist in some private collection.

(1) Niqūlā at-Turk, an orthodox Melchite, was born in Dayr al-Qamar in 1763 and died in 1828. His history of the French expedition to Egypt was published with a French translation by Alix Desgranges (*Histoire de l'expédition des Français en Egypte par Naqoula El-Turk*). See G. Graf, *op.cit.*, III, p. 251-252. He did not devote a special work to the history of al-Jazzār, the pasha of Acre (1775-1804). Shidyāq probably referred to his history of the French expedition, since al-Jazzār was contemporary to it and defended Acre against Napoleon Bonaparte.

(2) See above, p. 166.

(3) See above, p. 20, fn. 1. *Risālat al-Khūrī Yūsuf Mārūn ad-Duwayhī* (thus the title appears in *TTM*, p. 280) has not been published separately. The section of it relevant to the history of the Mardaite emirs was published by R. Shartūnī as an appendix to Isṭifān ad-Duwayhī's *Tārīkh aṭ-ṭā'ifa al-mārūniyya* (p. 279-280). The whole *risāla* appears in ʿAynṭūrīnī, *Mukhtaṣar tārikh Jabal Lubnān,* p. 94-108. My reference shall be to *TTM*.

(4) See below, p. 176.

history following the Maronite tradition. Thus, judging by his sources, Shidyāq was truly in the tradition of Maronite historiography.

Another group of sources which Shidyāq referred to were the family genealogies, some of which were recorded and others transmitted by oral tradition. It cannot be determined to what extent either of these two categories of genealogies were dependable. The recorded ones were certainly more so, especially those confirmed and attested by successive generations of judges and responsible people. Shidyāq relied on oral accounts for the genealogies of the Maronite feudal families of Khāzin and Ḥubaysh and of the Druze feudal families of the rank of sheikhs. According to Shidyāq, all these families except the Druze Talḥūqs belonged to the Ottoman period.

Most of the recorded genealogies to which Shidyāq referred existed in print in his day, like those of the Maronite families, some of which were printed in Syriac and others in Italian (1), and those of the Jānbalāṭs and the Shihābs, both of which were printed in Arabic (2). The genealogy of the Arslān emirs was available to Shidyāq in an old manuscript (3). For that of the Buḥturid

(1) All the Maronite families the history of which Shidyāq considered belonged to the Ottoman period, and not to the period under consideration in this study.

(2) See above, p. 172, fn. 4, 6. From Shidyāq's account of the published edition of the Shihāb genealogy (*Akhbār al-aʿyān...*, p. 65-66), it appears that it was copied and published from the original which used to be preserved in the Sidon court at the orders of Emir Fāris Sayyid Aḥmad Mulḥim ash-Shihābī, a contemporary of Shidyāq, sometime in the first half of the nineteenth century.

(3) Shidyāq did not list the Arslān genealogy with his other sources; but he referred to it at the end of each of his two chapters on that family (*ibid.*, p. 146, 748-749), giving a full description of it in the second instance. The genealogy, said Shidyāq, was an old one (I have not been able to find it). It was kept in the family as an heirloom, and its authenticity was witnessed at various dates (starting with 142 A.H./ 759-760 A.D.) by responsible cadis and notables. Shidyāq lists the witnesses and the dates of their testimonies.

emirs, he must have relied on the history of Ibn Sibāṭ who had relied in turn on Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā.

Drawing on older Maronite sources and also on Ibn Sibāṭ, on family histories and genealogies, and on tradition, Shidyāq produced a historical work differing in many respects from the works of Ibn al-Qilā'ī and of Duwayhī. *Akhbār al-a'yān...* has nothing of the fanciful epic form of the *Madīḥa 'alā Jabal Lubnān*. It is not a chronicle like *Tārīkh al-azmina*, nor a work of historical polemics like *Tārīkh aṭ-ṭā'ifa al-mārūniyya*. Shidyāq cited events chronologically within each chapter, but the chapters themselves are not arranged in chronological order. They are only continuations of each other in the sense that the *wilāya* of Lebanon (or of parts of Lebanon) passed in time from one to the other of the principal feudal families, and that some families were older than others. Indeed, *Akhbār al-a'yān...* is a geographical, historical, and genealogical survey of the component parts of feudal Lebanon. It can only artificially be divided into pre-Ottoman and post-Ottoman periods, for the unit in Shidyāq's history is the family in its historical continuity and not the period of time. Shidyāq was the first Lebanese historian known to have attempted such a survey of feudal Lebanon, and his work has remained unique in its scope until today. He was also the first Lebanese historian known to have furnished his work with a full section on the natural and political geography of his country (1), and with population figures divided according to region and religion.

* * *

Shidyāq's history of the Maronites before the rise of the Ma'nid hegemony in Lebanon is little more than an abridgement of Duwayhī's history. True to the Maronite tradition, he carried the history of his people back to the days of early Arab rule in

(1) Shidyāq's chapter on the political geography of Lebanon is invaluable for reconstructing the map of feudal Lebanon.

Syria, when the Mardaites of Lebanon (1) were raiding the borderlands of the Umayyad empire. At that time, he said, Emir Yūsuf ruled Jubayl (2), and Emir Kisrā ruled al-ʿĀṣiya (or al-Khārija, which was later called Kisrawān after him) and resided in Baskintā (3). Shidyāq then related the seemingly legendary story of Yūḥannā Mārūn and of his two nephews, Kūrūs (Qūrush) and Ibrāhīm, the last of whom supposedly became the emir of Lebanon (4); and he proceeded to list the Mardaite emirs of Lebanon, probably relying on the *Risāla* of Yūsuf Mārūn ad-Duwayhī (5). Except for the *muqaddamīn* of Bsharrī (the descendants of *Shidyāq* Yaʿqūb ibn Ayyūb) (6), all the "Mardaite" chieftains listed by Shidyāq appear to have been figures of legend. The names of some (Yūsuf, Yūḥannā (7), Bakkhūs (8), and Simʿān) (9) were apparently taken from the histories of Ibn

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(1) Shidyāq, like most Maronite historians after Duwayhī, identified the Maronites of the early mediæval period as Mardaites.

(2) MS *Mukhtaṣar Ibn al-Qilāʿī*, f.15v; above, p. 50. Duwayhī (*TTM*, p. 69) mentioned an emir of Lebanon called Yūsuf, depending on a manuscript history in Syriac copied in 1315.

(3) Shidyāq, *op.cit.*, p. 35, 251. See above, p. 48-52.

(4) Shidyāq, *loc.cit.*; Duwayhī, *TTM*, p. 53 *et seq.*

(5) *Risālat al-Khūrī Yūsuf Mārūn ad-Duwayhī* (*TTM*, p. 279-280). Shidyāq did not follow him in giving the dates of the emirs. Yūsuf Mārūn ad-Duwayhī listed the following emirs of Jubayl and Batrūn for the Crusader and Mamluk periods, before the rise of the *muqaddamīn* of Bsharrī: Mūsā, followed by Buṭrus (1090-1190), Bākhūs, followed by Yaʿqūb (1190-1215), Shamʿūn (1215-1239), his son Yaʿqūb (1239-1296), his [?] nephew Isṭifān (1296-1352), Mūsā, followed by Yūḥannā (1352-1399), and Yūsuf al-ʿAbdālī (1399-1400). See *ibid.*, p. 279.

(6) See below, Appendix C.

(7) Shidyāq, *op.cit.*, p. 35, 252; Duwayhī, *TTM*, p. 68-69.

(8) Ibn al-Qilāʿī, *Madīḥa...*, p. 42; Tādrus of Ḥamā, *Nakbat Kisrawān...*, p. 85. The latter called him Kawālīr Būkhūṣ (Chevalier Bachus). Possibly he was the same as Ibn al-Qilāʿī's *Muqaddam* Bākhūs, and a Frank rather than a Maronite. Tādrus of Ḥamā said he was the *kawālīr* of the King of France.

(9) Ibn al-Qilāʿī, *Madīḥa...*, p. 15-16; above, p. 48-51.

al-Qilāʿī and of Duwayhī; and Shidyāq said nothing about the character or deeds of these chieftains. Even their dates are not given; and in cases where a doubtful date is given to a doubtful event, Shidyāq did not attempt to name the emir in whose days the event took place or who participated in it, except in cases where he copied from Duwayhī.

Obviously relying on Duwayhī's *Tārīkh al-azmina*, Shidyāq related the first contact between the Maronites and the Crusaders at ʿArqā in 1099 (1), the role played by the Maronites in the defeat of the Seljuk troops at Shayzar in 1111 (2), the contact between Louis IX and the Maronites in 1250 (3), the defeat of Baybars at the hands of the Maronites in 1264 and 1266 (4), the sack of Ihdin and al-Ḥadath by Qalāwūn in 1283 (5), the help offered by the Maronites to the Franks of Tripoli while Qalāwūn was besieging the city in 1287 (6), and the expedition of Āqqūsh al-Afram against Kisrawān in 1307 (7). In relating the first (unsuccessful) Mamluk expedition against Kisrawān in 1293 (actually 1292), he drew on the confused account of the expedition given by Duwayhī in *Tārīkh aṭ-ṭāʾifa al-mārūniyya* and made the same mistakes (8). Also relying

(1) Shidyāq, *op.cit.*, p. 257; Duwayhī, *TA*, p. 9. See above, p. 131-132.

(2) Shidyāq, *op.cit.*, p. 258; Duwayhī, *TA*, p. 21. See above, p. 132.

(3) Shidyāq, *loc.cit.* See Duwayhī, *TA*, p. 123.

(4) Shidyāq, *loc.cit.*; Duwayhī, *TA*, p. 135, 136-137. See above, p. 134-136.

(5) Shidyāq, *op.cit.*, p. 258-259; Duwayhī, *TA*, p. 145-146. See above, p. 61-63, 136-137. Shidyāq here gave the year 1283 for the death of Baybars and the accession of Qalāwūn. Actually Baybars died in 1277, Qalāwūn succeeding him in 1279 following the brief reigns of Baraka Khān and Salāmish, the sons of Baybars. See S. Lane-Poole, *Mohammadan dynasties* (Paris, 1925), p. 81.

(6) Shidyāq, *op.cit.*, p. 259; Duwayhī, *TA*, p. 148. Shidyāq apparently took the wrong date (1287) from Duwayhī's *Tārīkh al-azmina*. The correct date is 1289.

(7) Shidyāq, *op.cit.*, p. 261-262; Duwayhī, *TA*, p. 163; *TTM*, p. 377. Shidyāq, like Duwayhī, gave the date 1307 instead of 1305 for the event. See above, p. 119-120.

(8) Shidyāq, *op.cit.*, p. 259-261; Duwayhī, *TTM*, p. 376. See above, p. 115. Shidyāq, like Duwayhī, gave the date of the expedition as 1293 instead

on Duwayhī, Shidyāq dealt briefly with the dynasty of the *muqaddamīn* of Bsharrī (1), after having noted the transfer of the Maronite feudal leadership (*imāra*) in 1400 from the districts of Jubayl and Batrūn to Jibbat Bsharrī (2).

The brevity and inadequacy with which Shidyāq considered the history of the Maronites in the Crusader and Mamluk periods is not without a reason. Shidyāq's intention was not so much to write a general history of Lebanon as to consider historically the various feudal families which dominated the country from the early Middle Ages to his own day. The lack of adequate sources on the genealogy and the history of the Maronite feudal families which controlled northern Lebanon in the Middle Ages discouraged Shidyāq from further investigation. It was a different matter with the Moslem and Druze feudal families. Unlike the mediæval Maronite feudal dynasties whose authority and lineage had long been extinct and forgotten, many of the non-Christian feudal families still existed at the time of Shidyāq (and continue to do so today), and others had become extinct at a comparatively recent date. The first of those families to become extinct were the ʻAssāfs, descendants of the Turkomans of Kisrawān, whose line died out in 1590 (3). The main line of the Buḥturids died out in 1633 (4). The ʻAlam ad-Dīn branch of that family, which had led the Yamanī Druze faction against the Qaysī Buḥturids and Maʻnids in 1633, was

of 1292, and said that it was organized at the orders of an-Nāṣir ibn Qalāwūn instead of by al-Ashraf Khalīl. He also named the wrong leaders for the expedition.

(1) Shidyāq, *op.cit.*, p. 264-270.

(2) *Ibid.*, p. 36. *Cf.* Yūsuf Mārūn ad-Duwayhī, *op.cit.* (in TTM), p. 279.

(3) Shidyāq, *op.cit.*, p. 399; Duwayhī, *TA*, p. 287; Shihābī, *Al-ghurar al-ḥisān...*, p. 620; H. Lammens, *La Syrie...*, II, p. 71. Muḥammad ʻAssāf, the last emir of this dynasty, was ambushed and killed near Batrūn by Yūsuf Pasha Sayfā of Tripoli in 1590, and he left no heir.

(4) Shidyāq, *op.cit.*, p. 132-133, 297; Shihābī, *op.cit.*, p. 719; Duwayhī, *TA*, p. 328.

exterminated in 1711, following the battle of ʿAyn Dārā between the Qaysīs and the Yamanīs (1). The Maʿnid family became extinct in 1697 when its last scion, Aḥmad Mulḥim, died without an heir (2). For the history of these non-Maronite families, Shidyāq had sources which varied in their degree of dependability, but certainly provided a fund of data.

According to tradition, the so-called Banū Arslān were the first of these families to come to Lebanon, presumably from Maʿarrat an-Nuʿmān. Shidyāq said that they settled in the Gharb and Sāḥil Bayrūt in 759 A.D. (142 A.H.) (3) at the request of the ʿAbbāsid caliph Abū Jaʿfar al-Manṣūr (754-775 A.D.), in order to check the raiding activities of the Mardaites of Lebanon. Arslān, the presumed ancestor of this family, settled in Sinn al-Fīl (in the north of Sāḥil Bayrūt), and his son Masʿūd moved to Shwayfāt in 799 (4). Arslān's brother and his cousins settled elsewhere in Sāḥil Bayrūt and the Gharb, which seem to have been considered one district (5) at the time. Once established there, the Arslāns concentrated their efforts on fighting back the Mardaite raiders from the north; and Shidyāq said that they defeated these Mardaites in 791 (6), and again in 875 (7). In 1088 (according to Shidyāq), the Arslānid chieftain Shujāʿ ad-Dawla ʿUmar ibn ʿĪsā died and was succeeded by his son ʿAḍud ad-Dawla ʿAlī (8), the first Arslānid emir of the period with which this study deals.

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(1) The battle of ʿAyn Dārā (1711) resulted in the utter defeat of the Yamanīs who, led by the ʿAlam ad-Dīn emirs, had opposed the Qaysī Shihābs who governed Lebanon. H. Lammens, *op.cit.*, II, p. 94-95.

(2) *Ibid.*, II, p. 92.

(3) Shidyāq here gave both the Hijra and the Christian dates.

(4) Shidyāq, *op.cit.*, p. 697-699 ; ʿAynṭūrīnī, *Mukhtaṣar tārīkh Jabal Lubnān*, p. 52. Shwayfāt is a small town in the lower Gharb.

(5) The villages in which they settled are mentioned as Saraḥmūl, Ṭirdalā, Kafrā, and ʿĀbay. All these villages are in the lower Gharb and the Shaḥḥār.

(6) Shidyāq, *op.cit.*, p. 699.

(7) *Ibid.*, p. 702.

(8) *Ibid.*, p. 714.

The second of these families to settle in Lebanon were the Buḥturids, who belonged to the same tribal stock as the Arslāns and, like them, came to Lebanon from the neighbourhood of Ma'arrat an-Nu'mān (1). According to Shidyāq, Tanūkh ibn Qaḥṭān, the ancestor of the Tanūkhid clan to which the Buḥturids belonged, moved from Ma'arrat an-Nu'mān to Lebanon on his own initiative in 820 and took residence in Sarḥammūr (modern Saraḥmūl), while his clan settled in and around the Gharb (2). Shidyāq mentioned nothing about the family before 1147. In that year, he said, the atabeg of Damascus Mujīr ad-Dīn Ābaq (1139-1154) wrote to Buḥtur, a descendant of Tanūkh and the ancestor of the Buḥturid family (3), permitting him to keep the villages he was holding in *iqṭā'* and allowing him a stipend from the central treasury (4).

Thus, according to Shidyāq, there were two Arab families settled in the vicinity of Beirut at the start of the Crusader period, both traditionally known to be descended from the same tribal stock, and both having come to Lebanon at approximately the same time (5). The history of Druze southern Lebanon during the period which follows, as it is related by Shidyāq, is largely the story of the struggle for supremacy between the so-called Arslāns and the Buḥturids, and of the relations of these two families with the Franks, the Mongols, and the Islamic states.

The first event of the Crusader period with which Shidyāq

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(1) *Ibid.*, p. 274.

(2) *Ibid.* The Buḥturids appear to have settled in Lebanon much later, in the early twelfth century. Ibrāhīm ibn Abū 'Abdallāh, the great-grandfather of Buḥtur (see below), was settled on the Byzantine frontier (in al-Bīra) in 1027 A.D. See Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā, *op.cit.*, p. 46-47. Ṣāliḥ does not date the coming of his ancestors to Lebanon.

(3) Shidyāq, *loc.cit.* *Cf.* Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā, *op.cit.*, p. 43; ibn Ḥajar, *Ad-durar al-kāmina...*, II, p. 54.

(4) Shidyāq, *loc.cit.* See below, p. 189-190.

(5) The two families in question, the so-called Arslāns and the Buḥturids, may not have come from the same tribal stock; and they certainly did not settle in Lebanon at the same time. See above, fn. 2.

linked the name of a Lebanese emir was the attempt on the part of Duqāq, the Seljuk ruler of Damascus (1095-1103), to hold the coastal route at Nahr al-Kalb against the advance of Baldwin to Jerusalem in 1100 (1). Completely ignoring Duqāq, Shidyāq said that it was 'Aḍud ad-Dawla 'Alī, the Arslānid emir of Beirut, who was responsible for the unsuccessful ambush. He related the incident as follows:

> In 1100 Emir 'Aḍud ad-Dawla sent men to the cave of Nahr al-Kalb to waylay Prince Baldwin the Frenchman, brother of King Gaudefroy of Jerusalem, who was advancing to Jerusalem with a thousand men to inherit his brother's crown; but when [Baldwin] reached the waylayers, he fought and defeated them and proceeded on his way (2).

Ibn al-Qalānisī (d. 1160), who related this incident, mentioned neither 'Aḍud ad-Dawla nor the men of the Phœnician coast as having taken part in the ambush:

> When Godfrey was killed, his brother Baldwin the count, lord of al-Ruhā, set out for Jerusalem with a body of five hundred knights and footmen. On hearing the report of his passage, Shams al-Mulūk Duqāq gathered his forces and moved out against him, together with emir Janāḥ ad-Dawla, lord of Ḥimṣ, and they met him near the port of Beirut. Janāḥ ad-Dawla pressed forward towards him with his 'askar, and he defeated him and some of his companions (3).

William of Tyre stressed the role of the "natives of the locality" in attempting to check Baldwin's advance on the coastal route; but he did not mention 'Aḍud ad-Dawla as leader of the ambush (4). It is natural, however, that 'Aḍud ad-Dawla, as the leading chieftain of the locality, should have sent native warriors from Beirut to help stop Baldwin's advance at Nahr al-Kalb. Shidyāq must have relied on some source when he mentioned his name: possibly some

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(1) See above, p. 106.

(2) Shidyāq, *op.cit.*, p. 714.

(3) Ibn al-Qalānisī, *Dhayl tārīkh Dimashq*, p. 138-139. Quoted from the translation by H.A.R. Gibb, *The Damascus chronicle of the Crusades* (London, 1932), p. 51.

(4) William of Tyre, *op.cit.*, I, p. 422-423. See also above, p. 106, fn. 2.

history of the Arslānid family, the information of which is now only available through *Akhbār al-a'yān*....

In the following year (1101), according to Shidyāq, 'Aḍud ad-Dawla tried again to set an ambush at Nahr al-Kalb, this time against Raymond de Saint Gilles:

In 1101, when Prince Raymond, prince of Toulouse, was on his way to Jerusalem, 'Aḍud ad-Dawla advanced to Nahr al-Kalb with men from Beirut, Tyre, Sidon, and Acre to hold the road. Raymond appealed for help to King Baldwin, who arrived from Jerusalem with his troops. When [Baldwin] arrived at Nahr al-Kalb, 'Aḍud ad-Dawla and his men retreated to Beirut and fortified themselves there, while the king returned to Jerusalem with Raymond. When the news reached Shams al-Mulūk Duqāq, the *malik* of Damascus, he wrote to the emir ['Aḍud ad-Dawla] a letter appointing him governor of Sidon and instructing him to fortify Sidon and Beirut; and the Emir sent to Sidon in his place Majd ad-Dawla Muḥammad ibn 'Adī, of Banū 'Abdallāh, and he fortified both cities (1).

Here again it is probable that 'Aḍud ad-Dawla, whom Shidyāq alone seems to have mentioned as having led the ambush, was actually responsible for it. He may also have been appointed governor of Sidon and Beirut, although this is neither confirmed nor denied by the available sources (2).

It appears from Shidyāq that the hegemony of the so-called Arslāns in Beirut and the Gharb ended with the fall of Beirut to the Crusaders on May 13, 1110 (3). Shidyāq must have taken his account of the fall of Beirut partly from Shihābī (4) and partly from the presumed Arslān family history. The Buḥturid Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā, whose family had not yet been settled in Beirut at the time (5), dismissed the event in a few lines, mentioning that the

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(1) Shidyāq, *op.cit.*, p. 714. *Cf.* William of Tyre, *op.cit.*, I, p. 442; Duwayhī, *TA*, p. 13. See above, p. 106-107.

(2) I have not found elsewhere any mention of the names of the governors of Beirut and Sidon at the time.

(3) For this event see S. Runciman, *op.cit.*, II, p. 92.

(4) Shihābī, *op.cit.*, p. 317-318.

(5) See above, p. 180, fn. 2.

siege of the city was strong and that, after it had been taken, there was much pillage and many were killed or captured (1). Shidyāq, who related the fall of Beirut to the Crusaders in his chapter on the *wilāya* of the Arslāns, listed the names of the Arslān emirs and of others who were killed after the fall of the city. His account, which differs from the usual Western and Arabic accounts, probably reflects the way in which the fall of Beirut to the Franks was viewed locally:

In 1110 Baldwin, one of the princes of France, gathered his troops and attacked Beirut, besieging it by land and sea. Emir 'Aḍud ad-Dawla (2) and some of his relations were in the city [defending it]. When [Baldwin] could not conquer it [single-handed], he appealed to the Franks of the coast and to the Mardaite emirs for help (3). Thereupon... the Franks of the north assembled with the Mardaites in Jubayl (4), while the Franks of the south

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(1) Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā, *op.cit.*, p. 17-18. Ibn al-Qalānisī (*op.cit.*, p. 167-168) gave a detailed account of the fall of Beirut to the Crusaders on May 13, 1110, without mentioning the governor of Beirut by name, or the Arslānid emirs. He said (H. A. R. Gibb's translation, p. 100): "The Franks now attacked both by land and sea with their entire forces, on Friday 21st Shawwāl (13th May). They set up two towers against the wall and fought with utmost vigour. The commander of the Egyptian fleet was killed, together with a great host of the Muslims, and never before nor after did the Franks see a more hard-fought battle than this. The people in the town lost heart and became assured of their destruction. At the close of this day the Franks made an assault on the town and captured it mightily by the sword; the governor who was in it fled with a party of his troops, but he was brought to the Franks and put to death with all his companions, and they plundered all the treasure he had taken with him. The city was sacked, its inhabitants enslaved or made prisoner, and their goods and treasures confiscated."

(2) Both Shidyāq and Shihābī (*op.cit.*, p. 317) gave the name as Shujā' ad-Dawla. Shujā' ad-Dawla 'Umar, however, was the father of 'Aḍud ad-Dawla 'Alī who, according to Shidyāq, was the chief of the clan of the Arslāns at the time. Shidyāq must have copied the mistakes from Shihābī.

(3) Baldwin was assisted in the conquest of Beirut by Count Bertrand of Tripoli and by Genoese and Pisan ships. S. Runciman, *op.cit.*, II, p. 92. I have found no mention of help rendered to Baldwin on this occasion by "Mardaite" princes.

(4) I have not found this mentioned outside Shihābī and Shidyāq.

assembled at Marj al-Ghāziyya (1). The two groups then attacked the Gharb at the same time one morning, the northern group advancing by way of the Jird and the southern group by way of the coast. They pillaged and burnt [the district], killing or capturing all those whom they could find, so that only those absent, in flight, or in hiding were saved (2). The [following] emirs were killed: Emir Mūsā ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Abū Bakr ibn al-Mundhir and his small children; Emir Qāsim ibn Hishām ibn Abū Bakr and his son Emir Idrīs; Emir Mawdūd ibn Sa'īd ibn Qābūs and his two sons Emir Asad and Emir Zuhayr; Emir Mālik ibn Muṣṭafā ibn 'Awn; Emir 'Ubayd ibn Mi'ḍād ibn Ḥusām; Emir Yaḥyā ibn Khiḍr ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī and his brother Emir Yūsuf; Emir 'Alī ibn Ḥalīm ibn Yūsuf ibn Fāris al-Fawārisī and his children, brothers, and cousins, with whom the line of descent of Banū Fawāris ended (3). Emir Thābit ibn Ma'rūf ibn 'Alī and his grandson Emir 'Abd ar-Raḥmān ibn Farās ibn Thābit were captured, then killed with the [other] prisoners [after Beirut was taken].... Of the emirs who were in the Gharb only Emir Buḥtur, the son of Emir 'Aḍud ad-Dawla 'Alī, remained [alive] because his mother hid him in 'Aramūn until the departure of the Franks (4). The Franks then descended on Beirut, tightened its siege, and took it by the sword on April 23 after a siege of two months (5). Five of the emirs were killed: the great Emir 'Aḍud ad-Dawla 'Alī... (6); Emir Sālim ibn Thābit ibn Ma'rūf; Emir 'Abd al-Ḥalīm ibn 'Alī

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(1) In Shihābī, Burj al-Ghāziyya. Al-Ghāziyya is a village to the southeast of Sidon. Again, this detail in the story of the conquest of Beirut seems to be mentioned only by Shihābī and Shidyāq.

(2) No other source seems to mention a preliminary attack on the Gharb taking place before the capture of Beirut by the Franks. The fact that Shidyāq listed the names of the emirs killed shows that he was relying on some source for that event.

(3) Banū Fawāris appear to have been rivals of the Arslāns in the Gharb, taking over the leadership in the district for some time. Shidyāq, *op.cit.*, p. 711. They are considered the ancestors of the Billama's. *Ibid.*, p. 66; 'Ayn-ṭurīnī, *op.cit.*, p. 52. The enumeration of names ceases in Shihābī at this point. Hence the names listed are found only in Shidyāq, copied apparently from the Arslān family history.

(4) This Buḥtur may have been Buḥtur of the Tanūkhs, not an Arslānid emir. See below, p. 190 *et seq.*

(5) The same dating is found in Shihābī (*op.cit.*, p. 318). Beirut actually fell on May 13, its siege having started in February. S. Runciman, *loc.cit.*

(6) According to Ibn al-Qalānisī (see above, p. 183, fn. 1) the governor of Beirut fled, but was later brought back to the Franks and put to

ibn Ṭu'ma, his son Sa'īd, and his brother Emir 'Abd ar-Raḥīm ibn 'Alī. Three of them were taken prisoner: Emir Khiḍr ibn 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn, his son Emir al-Ḥusayn, and Emir 'Alī ibn Ṭu'ma ibn 'Alī, along with others. On the second day Baldwin brought all the prisoners outside the city and had them beheaded. He then led his troops by land and sea to attack Sidon and besiege it. Emir Majd ad-Dawla (1), as it has been mentioned, was there; and when he and the people of the city despaired, they made peace with the king, paying him 20,000 dirhams (2). Emir Majd ad-Dawla then left the city in peace (3), and Baldwin took it over. The Emir then came to the Gharb and found it in a state of utter ruin.... So [he] began to restore the country and to resettle its people, taking over the *imāra* (emirate, or command) alone (4).

In 1126, Shidyāq continued, Ṭughtigīn, the atabeg of Damascus (1103-1128) (5), wrote to Majd ad-Dawla granting him the

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death. According to other sources, he fled by night on an Italian ship to Cyprus, and there surrendered to the Byzantine governor (S. Runciman, *loc.cit.*, referring to Fulcher of Chartres and Albert of Aix). The massacre which followed in Beirut was conducted by the Italians, before Baldwin could restore order (S. Runciman, *loc.cit.*).

(1) Majd ad-Dawla, as it has been mentioned above (p. ~~250~~ 182) was not an Arslān. I have not been able to find a check on the name of the governor of Sidon from other sources.

(2) Ibn al-Qalānisī, *op. cit.* (H.A.R. Gibb's translation), p. 100-101: "When the affairs of Beirut had been set in order, King Baldwin departed with the Franks and, encamping before the port of Sidon, sent an envoy to its inhabitants summoning them to surrender the town. They asked of him a respite for a space of time which they specified, and he granted them a respite, after exacting from them a sum of six thousand dinars to be paid to him as annual tribute, their former tribute having been two thousand dinars." Sidon capitulated on December 4. The notables of the town left with all their belongings to Damascus; but the poorer folk remained and became subjects of the Frankish King, who levied on them a tax of 20,000 gold besants. S. Runciman, *op.cit.*, p. 93.

(3) See the previous footnote. The other sources I consulted do not mention that the governor of Sidon came to the Gharb after his city had fallen to the Franks.

(4) Shidyāq, *op.cit.*, p. 715-716. *Cf.* Shihābī, *op.cit.*, p. 317-318. See also S. Runciman, *op.cit.*, II, p. 92-93.

(5) Ṭughtigīn, an enfranchised *mamlūk* of Tutush (the Seljuk sultan of Syria), was appointed *atabeg* to Duqāq, the son of Tutush who succeeded him in Damascus. He succeeded his ward as ruler of Damascus, becoming the founder of the Būrid dynasty there. S. Lane-Poole, *op.cit.*, p. 161.

emirate of the Gharb and the *iqṭā'* of several villages. Majd ad-Dawla then began raiding Frankish territory until he was killed in Burj al-Barājina (near Beirut), in 1127. Majd ad-Dawla left a son, Emir 'Abdallāh; but the emirate, said Shidyāq, passed back after his death to the Arslānid family and fell to Nāhiḍ ad-Dīn Abū'l-'Ashā'ir Buḥtur, the son of 'Aḍud ad-Dawla 'Alī (1). It was at this point that Shidyāq began confusing between the so-called Arslānid and the Tanūkhid emirs (2).

It is possible that Majd ad-Dawla was among the *wulāt al-aṭrāf* (governors of the marches) whom Ṭughtigīn summoned in 1125-1126 (519 A.H.) to help in checking the Frankish raids on Ḥawrān (3). This may explain Shidyāq's statement that Majd ad-Dawla received from Ṭughtigīn "a letter investing him with the emirate and granting him specified villages in *iqṭā'* ". Majd ad-Dawla may have formally received from Ṭughtigīn the *iqṭā'* of these villages and the emirate of the Gharb as an attraction to, or in repayment for, his military services.

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(1) Shidyāq, *op.cit.*, p. 716.

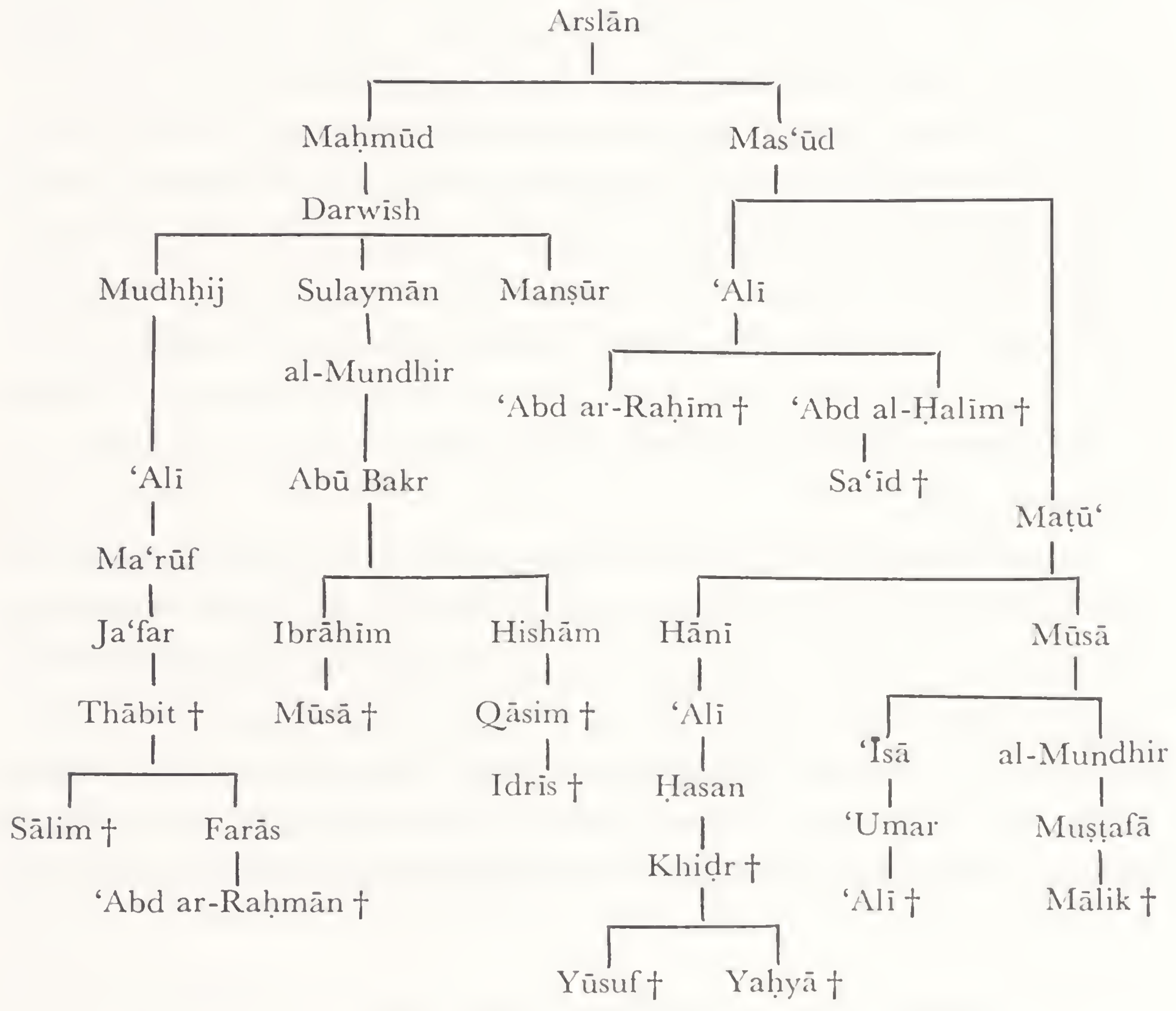
(2) Shidyāq's confusion between the Arslāns and the Tanūkhs will be discussed below, p. 190 *et seq.* I do not believe that there was an Arslānid emir called Nāhiḍ ad-Dīn Buḥtur.

(3) Ibn al-Qalānisī, *op.cit.*, p. 212-213 (H. A. R. Gibb's translation, p. 174-175): "In this year [A.H. 519] news arrived from the quarter of Baldwin, king of the Franks, lord of Jerusalem, of his assembling of troops and making preparations to invade the region of Ḥawrān in the government of Damascus, in order to ravage and devastate it. He began to dispatch raiding parties to the districts near Damascus, placing them in sore straits, and laying ambushes on the roads for those who journeyed to them. On receiving confirmation of this news, Ẓāhir al-Dīn Atābek [Ṭughtigīn] set about making preparations to encounter him.... He sent letters to the amirs, leaders and principal men of the Turkomens, informing them of the state of affairs, asking for their help against the Franks, and promising them generous treatment and reward.... [And] he wrote to the governors of the provinces [*wulāt al-aṭrāf*] to send him reinforcements of foot-soldiers . . . and a great host assembled to assist him." I believe *wulāt al-aṭrāf* should be translated "governors of the border provinces" or "the marches." For Baldwin's expedition against Ḥawrān, see S. Runciman, *op.cit.*, II, p. 174.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE

Showing the "Arslānid" emirs killed during the siege of Beirut and after its fall to the Franks

(After Shidyāq)



(†) The sign marks the names of the emirs killed in 1110. I have not been able to trace all the emirs mentioned by Shidyāq.

In the meantime, a third important family came from Syria to settle in the Shūf: the Ma'nids, who rose to leadership in Lebanon soon after the Ottoman conquest. Shidyāq (1) said that the ancestor of this family, Emir Ma'n al-Ayyūbī, who had been unsuccessfully fighting the Franks in northern Syria, received orders from Ṭughtigīn in 1120 (2) to move with his clan, by way of the Biqā', to the mountains of Lebanon which overlook the coast. From there he was to organize raids against the Franks of the coast. Ma'n, therefore, settled with his clan in the village of B'aqlīn (the Bahaelin of the Crusaders (3), in the Shūf) and allied himself with the Tanūkhid Emir Buḥtur (4), with whom he raided the Franks. Shidyāq added that many people flocked into his territory from those parts of Syria and Lebanon which had been occupied by the Crusaders. No information seems to be available about the coming of the Ma'nids to Lebanon other than what is found in the Lebanese sources; but Shidyāq's account of the event does not appear unsatisfactory. The Moslem rulers of Damascus must have been interested in settling tribes in Mount Lebanon to check the advance of the Franks into their territory from the west and the south-west.

The Talḥūqs, who came originally from the Euphrates district to Syria with Ma'n al-Ayyūbī, were another family which (according to Shidyāq) settled in Lebanon at approximately the same time as the Ma'nids. They came first to Wādī at-Taym, and from there moved on to Beirut. Shidyāq said that they first settled in Ras Beirut in 1144. Later, blood feuds forced them to move out of Beirut to the nearby village of al-Fayjāniyya, and finally to settle

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(1) Shidyāq, *op.cit.*, p. 297-298; Shihābī, *op.cit.*, p. 322-324.

(2) Shihābī (*op.cit.*, p. 324) gave the date 1118 (512 A.H.) for the coming of Ma'n to Lebanon. 'Ayntūrīnī (*op.cit.*, p. 47) gave the date 1119 (513 A.H.).

(3) E. Rey, *Les colonies franques...*, p. 510-511: Bahaelin, a village in the Shūf, was given to the Teutonic order by Julien of Sidon in 1257.

(4) There is no mention of such an alliance by Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā.

in the village of 'Aytāt, in the upper Gharb, which remains a centre of the family today. It was not until 1711, after the battle of 'Ayn Dārā, that the Talḥūqs were raised to the dignity of sheikhs. Before that time they appear to have been a minor feudal family in the upper Gharb (1).

It was the Buḥturids and the rival house of Abū'l-Jaysh (mistakenly called the Arslāns by Shidyāq) (2) who played the leading roles in the internal history of southern Lebanon in the Crusader and Mamluk periods. The Ma'nids remained in the background until the early sixteenth century, and the Shihābs did not come to Mount Lebanon until the late seventeenth.

In 1147, said Shidyāq, Mujīr ad-Dīn Ābaq of Damascus issued a *manshūr* to the Arslānid emir Nāhiḍ ad-Dawla Abū'l-'Ashā'ir Buḥtur confirming his *iqṭā'* of villages which he held and which his ancestors had held before him (3). Elsewhere, Shidyāq mentioned under the same date the investiture of the Tanūkhid emir Nāhiḍ ad-Dawla Abū'l-'Ashā'ir Buḥtur, the ancestor of the Buḥturids (4).

Nobody other than Shidyāq mentioned the investiture of an Arslānid Emir Buḥtur. The investiture of Emir Buḥtur of the Tanūkhs, however, is an attested fact (5). Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā, a descendant of Buḥtur, quoted Ābaq's *manshūr* which he had found among the family papers:

> This noble writ has been issued for the esteemed emir Nāhiḍ ad-Dawla Abū'l-'Ashā'ir Buḥtur ibn 'Alī ibn Abū 'Abdallāh that he may abide with his old dues and with the villages he already holds, such as have been attributed to the name of his father and to his name. He may receive their royal revenues, which he shall use for his own benefit and in order to strengthen himself for

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(1) Shidyāq, *op.cit.*, p. 201-202.

(2) A. N. Poliak, *Feudalism...*, p. 13.

(3) Shidyāq, *op.cit.*, p. 716. Shidyāq, to my knowledge, is the only historian who mentioned the investiture of an emir by this name.

(4) *Ibid.*, p. 274-275.

(5) Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā, *op.cit.*, p. 45-46; Ibn Sibāṭ, *op.cit.*, p. 13-14.

service. He shall continue, as before, to hold command (*imāra*) in the Gharb, in the mountain of Beirut.... The duty of the village elders (*ru'asā'*) (1) and the peasants, may God give them strength, shall be to attend to his orders and to obey him in whatever he may demand of them with regard to the levy of royal dues (*al-ḥuqūq as-sulṭāniyya*), and to assist him in whatever duties may be assigned to him by the State.... As for him, his duty shall be to defend them and to bring their grievances to the attention of the governors (*nuwwāb*), the district administrators (*al-mutaṣarrifūn*), and the civil officials (*aṣḥāb*).... Written in the middle third of Muḥarram, 542 (June 1147) (2).

The Lebanese historians did not mention the investiture of Buḥtur Tanūkh, but it appears from the accounts of Ibn al-Qalānisī and Abū Shāma for 543 A.H. (1148 A.D.) that Mujīr ad-Dīn Ābaq had called on the help of the Arab tribes and the governors of the marches to help ward off the Frankish attack on Damascus in that year (3). "On the second day [after the attack]," wrote Ibn al-Qalānisī, "there arrived from the direction of the Biqā' and from elsewhere many archers... " (4). These archers may have been sent by the emirs of the Gharb, after those emirs had been attracted to the service of Damascus by land grants and by official recognition.

It is necessary here to clarify Shidyāq's confusion between the Buḥturids and the Abū'l-Jaysh (the Arslānids, as he called them). According to Shidyāq, Buḥtur Arslān died in 1157, leaving a son 'Arf ad-Dawla 'Alī (5). This 'Alī, he said, died in 1299; and his only surviving son was Ṣāliḥ, known as Abū'l-Jaysh Zayn ad-Dīn (6).

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(1) The *ra'īs* (pl. *ru'asā'*) was a village or small town notable responsible for local administration and police duties. The Franks preserved this post in the local administration of their domain for both the Moslem and the Christian natives. See Claude CAHEN, *La Syrie du nord à l'époque des Croisades...* (Paris, 1940), p. 456, 461-462.

(2) ṢĀLIḤ IBN YAḤYĀ, *loc.cit.*

(3) IBN AL-QALĀNISĪ, *op.cit.*, p. 297-299; ABŪ SHĀMA, *op.cit.*, p. 57. For an account of this event see S. RUNCIMAN, *op.cit.*, II, p. 281-282.

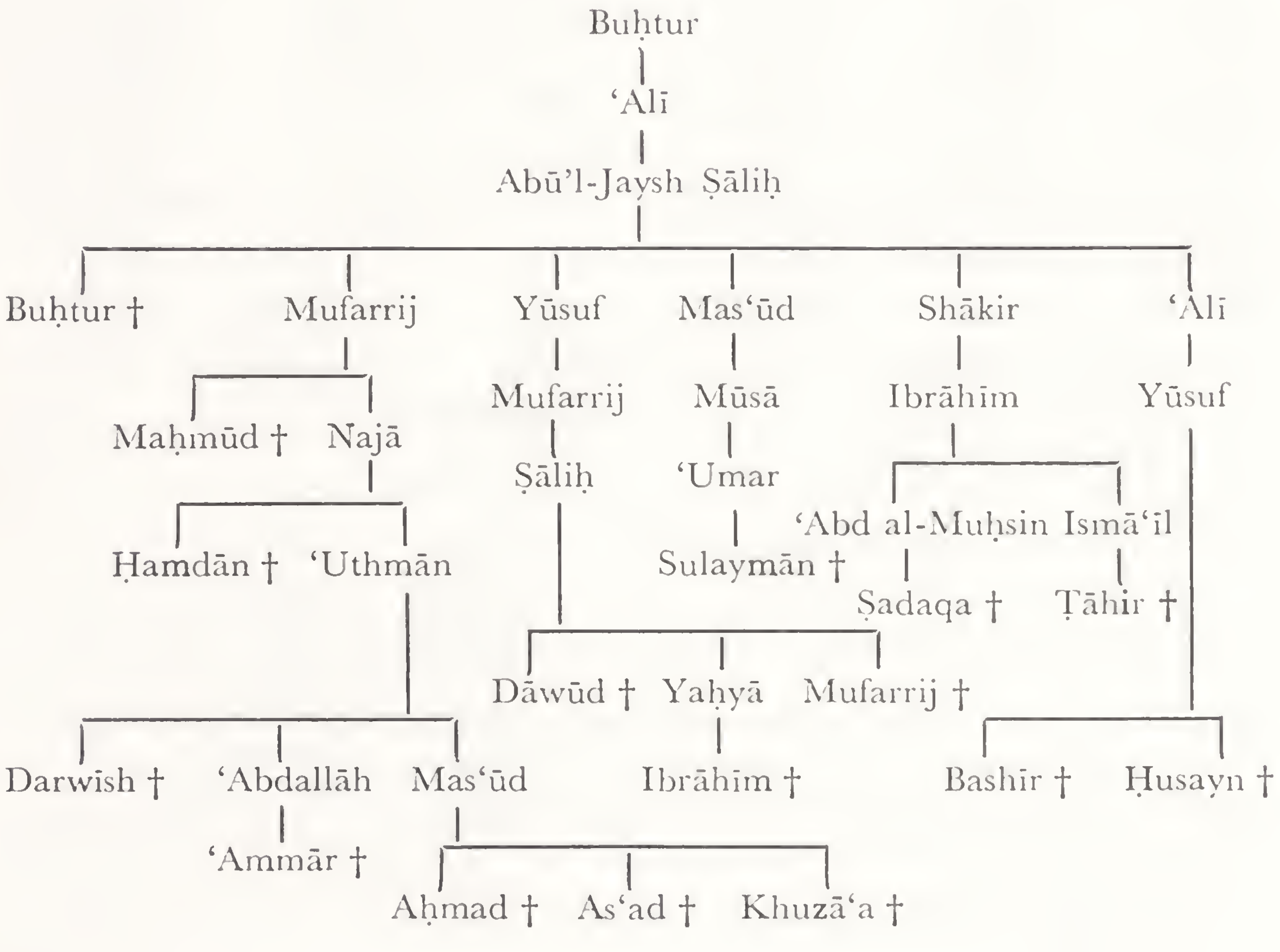
(4) IBN AL-QALĀNISĪ, *op.cit.*, p. 299.

(5) SHIDYĀQ, *op.cit.*, p. 717.

(6) *Ibid.*, p. 718.

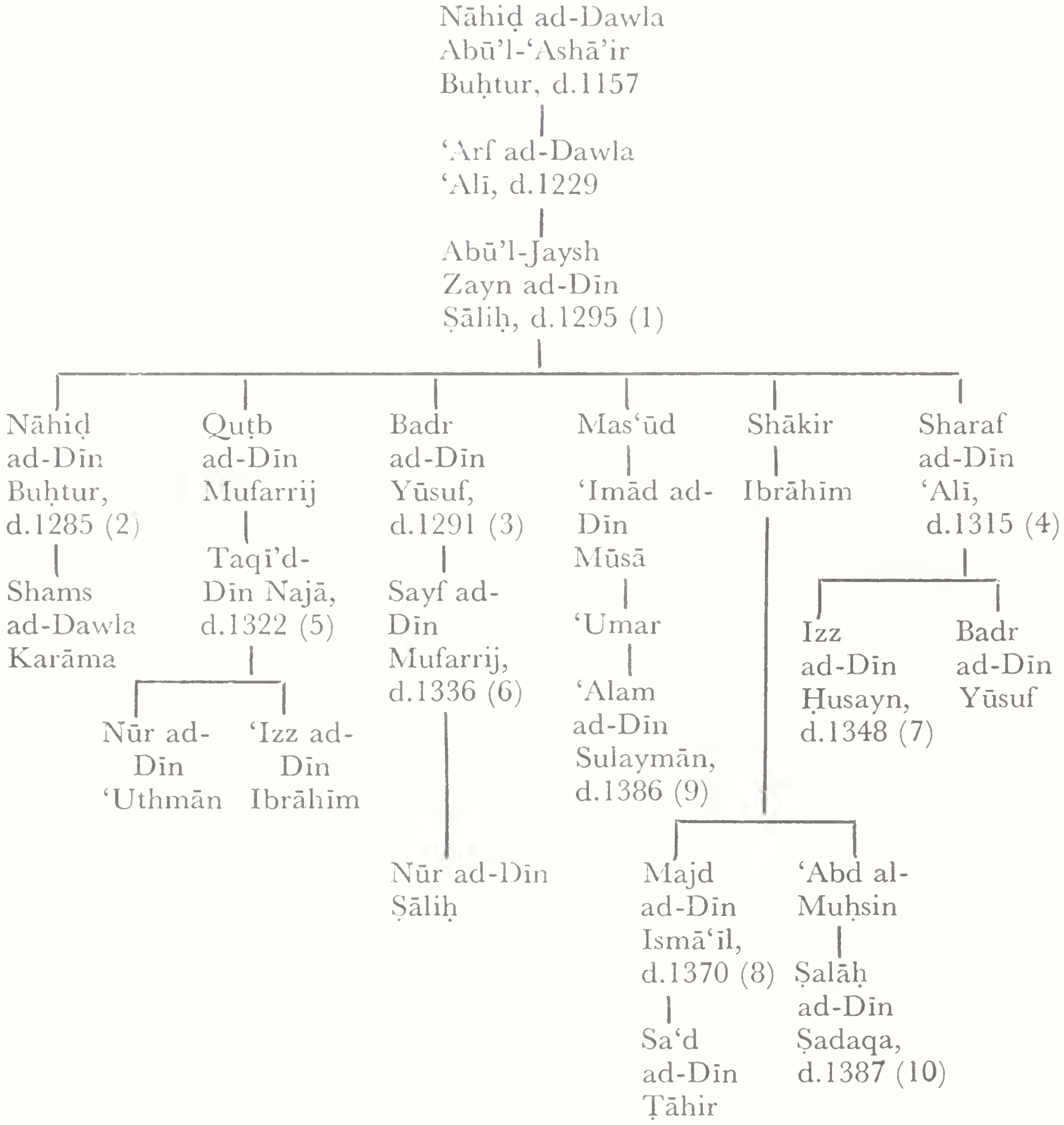
Shidyāq gave a genealogical listing of the descendants of the presumed Buḥtur Arslān in each of the two chapters he wrote on that family in *Akhbār al-a'yān....* In the first chapter (3) he merely listed the names of those descendants, and in the second (4) he gave brief biographical notices and some dates. It would be best to start by comparing the Arslānid and Buḥturid genealogies as given by Shidyāq (with variants) and by Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā.

Shidyāq's first account of the progeny of Buḥtur Arslān can be tabulated as follows:



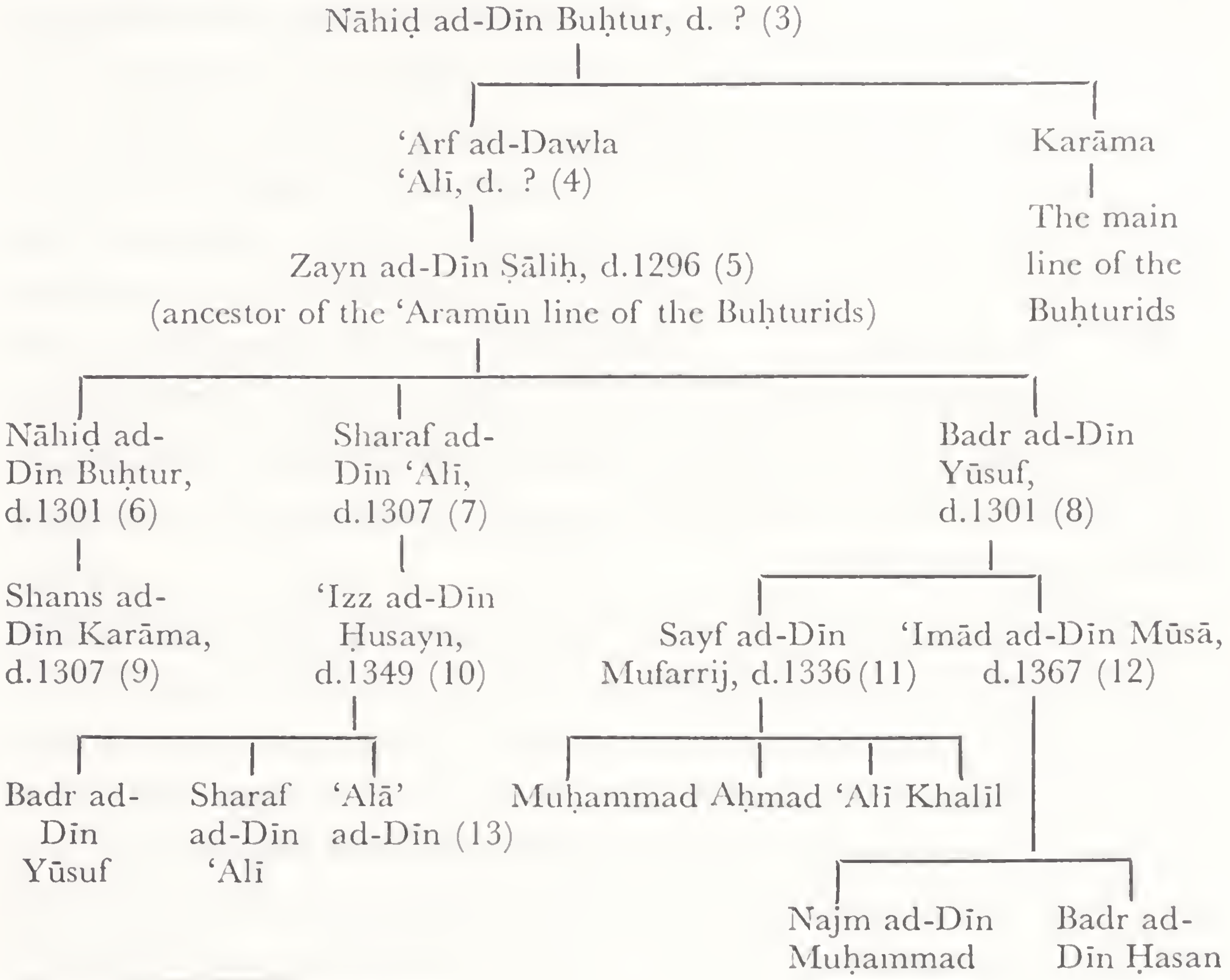
(1) *Ibid.*, p. 140-141.
(2) *Ibid.*, p. 717 *et seq.*
† The sign denotes emirs who died without progeny.

His second account, which gives obituary dates and titles (*alqāb*) for most of the emirs, can be tabulated as follows:



(1) *Ibid.*, p. 719.
(2) *Ibid.*
(3) *Ibid.*
(4) *Ibid.*, p. 720.
(5) *Ibid.*
(6) *Ibid.*
(7) *Ibid.*
(8) *Ibid.*, p. 720-721.
(9) *Ibid.*, p. 721.
(10) *Ibid.*

On the other hand, the progeny of 'Alī ibn Buḥtur of the Tanūkhs, as it appears in Shidyāq (1) as well as in Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā (2), can be tabulated as follows:



(1) *Ibid.*, p. 129 *et seq.*

(2) Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā's history is largely a commented genealogy. For page references see the footnotes which follow.

(3) Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā did not give the date of his death. Shidyāq (*op.cit.*, p. 275) gave it as 1174, which is highly doubtful. See below, p. 197.

(4) Shidyāq alone called him 'Arf ad-Dawla. Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā referred to him simply as 'Alī. Most of the *alqāb* of his descendants are found in Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā, but not in Shidyāq.

(5) Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā, *op.cit.*, p. 85. The date is given as Rabī' I 18, 695 A.H.

(6) *Ibid.*

(7) *Ibid.*, p. 83.

(8) *Ibid.*, p. 85.

(9) *Ibid.*, p. 87.

(10) *Ibid.*, p. 157.

(11) *Ibid.*, p. 155.

(12) *Ibid.*, p. 156.

(13) Shidyāq did not mention him; and only his *laqab* appears in Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā.

Shidyāq certainly seems to have identified Abū'l-Jaysh Ṣāliḥ of the "Arslāns" with Zayn ad-Dīn Ṣāliḥ of the Buḥturs, calling him Abū'l-Jaysh Zayn ad-Dīn Ṣāliḥ after his Buḥturid namesake. His death, according to Shidyāq, was in 1 295 (1), a date which Shidyāq also gave for the death of Zayn ad-Dīn Ṣāliḥ of the Buḥturs (2). Abū'l-Jaysh, according to Shidyāq, married Jamīla, daughter of the Buḥturid emir Najm ad-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Ḥajjī ibn Karāma ibn Buḥtur (3). According to Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā, Zayn ad-Dīn Ṣāliḥ of the Buḥturs married Ṣādiqa, the daughter of the same Najm ad-Dīn Muḥammad (4). Although it is possible that Jamīla was only a misnomer for Ṣādiqa, and that Shidyāq again confused between the two emirs by making them marry the same woman, it is more likely that the two Ṣāliḥs married sisters, and so confused Shidyāq even further.

Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā did not give a complete genealogy of the descendants of Abū'l-Jaysh; but one can get some idea about it from his occasional mentions of their names. There were, apparently, two members of that family who bore the nickname (*kunya*) of Abū'l-Jaysh (5), each of whom was the son of a Mufriḥ (or Mufarrij) (6). There is no mention of a Buḥtur or a 'Alī among the direct ancestors of Abū'l-Jaysh. It seems, therefore, that Shidyāq's confusion began with the first Abū'l-Jaysh, whose real name must have been Ṣāliḥ. Confusing him with Zayn ad-Dīn Ṣāliḥ of the

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(1) Shidyāq, *op. cit.*, p. 719.

(2) *Ibid.*, p. 281. Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā (*op. cit.*, p. 82) gave the date of Zayn ad-Dīn's death as Rabī' II 8, 695 (February 15, 1296).

(3) Shidyāq, *op. cit.*, p. 718.

(4) Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā, *op. cit.*, p. 82.

(5) Abū'l-Jaysh (father of the army) is only a *kunya*, not a real name (*ism*). Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā did not give the real name which, according to Shidyāq, was Ṣāliḥ.

(6) Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā, *op. cit.*, p. 72-73. Original footnote. The name here appears definitely as Mufriḥ مفرح ; but this name, in Arabic script, can be easily confused with Mufarrij مفرّج (as in *ibid.*, p. 155; see corrections by J. Sauvaget, "Corrections...", p. 77).

Buḥturs, Shidyāq attributed to him some of the ancestors and some of the descendants of the latter.

The part of the Abū'l-Jaysh genealogy which can be reconstructed from Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā's history gives the following table:

- Mufriḥ
  - Abū'l-Jaysh
    - Mufriḥ (1)
      - Abū'l-Jaysh
        - Sinān (2)
          - Najm ad-Dīn Kawkab (7)
        - Mas'ūd (3)
          - 'Imād ad-Dīn Mūsā (8)
          - Shujā' ad-Dīn Arslān (9)
        - 'Alī (4)
        - Taqī'd-Dīn Najā (5)
          - Ṣārim ad-Dīn Shamūl (10)
        - Sa'd ad-Dīn (or Sa'dān) (6)
          - Nāṣir ad-Dīn (11)
            - Shihāb ad-Dīn Dāwūd (12)
            - *another son* (13)

Considering that the second Mufriḥ in this genealogy was alive in c. 1240 (14), it must have been his son, the second Abū'l-Jaysh

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(1) *Ibid.* Ṣāliḥ referred to a document in the handwriting of this Mufriḥ which he saw, and which was dated Rabī' I, 638 (1240 A.D.).

(2) *Ibid.*, p. 96, 97.

(3) *Ibid.*, p. 94, 96, 98.

(4) *Ibid.*, p. 177.

(5) *Ibid.*, p. 72, 98.

(6) *Ibid.*, p. 84 (fn. 4), 85, 96, 98.

(7) *Ibid.*, p. 97.

(8) *Ibid.*, p. 94, 96, 98.

(9) *Ibid.*, p. 97.

(10) *Ibid.*, p. 96, 97.

(11) *Ibid.*, p. 84, 85, 96, 98.

(12) *Ibid.*, p. 96, 98.

(13) *Ibid.*, p. 96. Ṣāliḥ said that Nāṣir ad-Dīn had two sons, and only mentioned the name of one, Shihāb ad-Dīn Dāwūd.

(14) *Ibid.*, p. 73.

Ṣāliḥ, who was the contemporary of Zayn ad-Dīn Ṣāliḥ of the Buḥturs, and possibly his brother-in-law.

It is not certain whether Shidyāq himself was responsible for this confusion, or whether it came from his sources. Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā had recognized a genealogical confusion between the family of Abū'l-Jaysh and that of Zayn ad-Dīn Ṣāliḥ of the Buḥturs (1). He himself may have mistaken some members of the house of Abū'l-Jaysh for Buḥturids, as will be shown later (2). It is not possible to reconstruct the full genealogy of the house of Abū'l-Jaysh with the available material, and one cannot clear the confusion in Shidyāq with the little information provided by Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā. The two Abū'l-Jaysh genealogies given in *Akhbār al-a'yān...* are not alike, and neither can be verified. Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā believed that the family descended from the Biqā' clan of al-Jammīzā (or al-Jummayzā) (3), and he did not mention their descent from the "Arslāns" of the pre-Crusader period (4). It is possible that the house of Abū'l-Jaysh claimed descent from the original emirs of the Gharb (whom Shidyāq knew as the Arslāns) to strengthen their case against the Buḥturids, their rivals in the district during the Crusader and Mamluk periods. This, if true, may have led to the confusion about the descent of Abū'l-Jaysh in *Akhbār al-a'yān...*; but it cannot be established. Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā and Shidyāq may have confused between the descendants of Abū'l-Jaysh and of Zayn ad-Dīn Ṣāliḥ because both families lived in the village of 'Aramūn.

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(1) *Ibid.*, p. 47.

(2) See below, p. 211-212.

(3) ṢĀLIḤ IBN YAḤYĀ, *op. cit.*, p. 47 الحميزا ; J. SAUVAGET, "Corrections...", p. 68 الجميزا. Ṣāliḥ said that the Abū'l-Jaysh were also known as Banū Sa'dān.

(4) ṢĀLIḤ IBN YAḤYĀ, *loc. cit.* H. LAMMENS (*La Syrie...*, II, p. 9) mentioned the Abū'l-Jaysh without presuming their descent from the pre-Crusader Arslāns. He depended on Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā. A. N. POLIAK (*op. cit.*, p. 13, 57), relying on Shidyāq, said that the modern Arslāns claim the Abū'l-Jaysh as their ancestors, and that they also trace their descent from the pre-Islamic Arab kings of al-Ḥīra.

Besides, while both emirs shared the name Ṣāliḥ, there was also an identity of names among a number of their descendants.

As it has already been mentioned (1), it was Buḥtur of the Tanūkhs, not an Arslānid emir by the same name, who received the document of investiture from Mujīr ad-Dīn Ābaq in 1147. Buḥtur could not have died in 1174, as Shidyāq said (2), for already in 1160 Nūr ad-Dīn Zengī had invested his son Karāma with a considerable *iqṭā'* and with what seems to have been his father's position (3). Buḥtur must have died before that date, possibly in 1157, the date which Shidyāq assigned to the death of the presumed Buḥtur Arslān (4).

In relating the investiture of Karāma ibn Buḥtur by Nūr ad-Dīn ibn Zengī, Shidyāq repeated Duwayhī's story almost word for word, giving the same date:

> In 1160 the *malik* Nūr ad-Dīn Zengī granted Karāma ibn Buḥtur al-Qunayṭra and Jilbāyā in the Biqā', aẓ-Ẓahr al-Aḥmar in Wādī at-Taym, and Barjā, al-Ma'āṣir al-Fawqiyya, ad-Dāmūr, Shārūn, Majdal Ba'nā, and Kafar'ammay; and he provided him with upkeep for forty horsemen to fight the Franks (5).

This event has already been discussed in the chapter on Duwayhī (6). Shidyāq, however, thought that Karāma was replacing Buḥtur Arslān, not his own father, in the command of the Gharb :

> In the year 1157 Emir Nāhiḍ ad-Dīn Abū'l 'Ashā'ir Buḥtur [of the Arslāns] (7) died, leaving a son, 'Alī. . . . So al-Malik al-'Ādil Nūr ad-Dīn granted the Gharb in *iqṭā'* to Emir Zahr ad-Dawla Karāma, known as Emir al-Gharb (8).

Shidyāq mistook Buḥtur Tanūkh for an Arslānid emir by that name, and he understood from Nūr ad-Dīn's *marsūm* to Karāma

(1) See above, p. 189-190.
(2) Shidyāq, *op. cit.*, p. 275.
(3) *Ibid.*
(4) *Ibid.*, p. 717.
(5) *Ibid.*, p. 275.
(6) See above, p. 107-109.
(7) This event is related by Shidyāq in his history of the Arslāns.
(8) Shidyāq, *op. cit.*, p. 717.

in 1157 (1) that the *iqṭā'* of the Gharb was transferred to the Buḥturids after the death of the supposed Buḥtur Arslān. It was actually Buḥtur Tanūkh himself who had a son called 'Alī, a son who did not succeed to the *iqṭā'* of the Gharb; and Shidyāq mistook this 'Alī for a presumed Arslānid emir by the same name ('Alī, the father of Abū'l-Jaysh) who did not succeed to the *iqṭā'* of his father. Shidyāq had previously said that in 1151 Buḥtur Arslān had defeated the Franks at Rās at-Tīna, near Nahr al-Ghadīr, and had forced them to retreat to Beirut (2). Here again the hero must have been Buḥtur Tanūkh, although Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā (who related nothing of the exploits of Buḥtur Tanūkh) did not mention this battle.

After relating the death of the presumed Buḥtur Arslān and the investiture of Karāma ibn Buḥtur of the Tanūkhs, Shidyāq said that in 1162 the Fāṭimids of Egypt approached 'Arf ad-Dawla 'Alī of the Arslāns (possibly Sharaf ad-Dawla (3) 'Alī of the Tanūkhs), who had failed to succeed to the *iqṭā'* of the Gharb, and tried to have him organize an opposition to Nūr ad-Dīn in Syria. When Nūr ad-Dīn heard of this, he turned against 'Alī (4). It is not possible to establish this fact from the available sources, but its mention in *Akhbār al-a'yān...* hints at political intrigues which were going on in Lebanon during the Crusader period.

According to Shidyāq, this 'Arf ad-Dawla 'Alī won back the good will of the Zengids later on and was granted the *iqṭā'* of the Gharb after the death of Karāma and the murder of his three eldest sons by the Frankish ruler of Beirut:

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(1) This is the correct date of Nūr ad-Dīn's first *marsūm* to Karāma. See above, p. 108.

(2) SHIDYĀQ, *op. cit.*, p. 716-717. I have found nothing about the battle of Rās at-Tīna in other sources. Nahr al-Ghadīr is a winter stream which pours to the south of Beirut, at the site of the modern airport.

(3) For the title of 'Alī ibn Buḥtur, see IBN SIBĀṬ, *op. cit.*, p. 16, and the genealogical tree in ṢĀLIḤ IBN YAḤYĀ, *op. cit.*, facing p. 40.

(4) SHIDYĀQ, *op. cit.*, p. 717.

Emir Karāma died(1) leaving four sons; and the three eldest made peace with the Frankish ruler of Beirut (2), who [later] killed them, then attacked their fort (3) and destroyed it. He then proceeded with his troops to 'Aramūn where 'Arf ad-Dawla 'Alī ibn Buḥtur was staying; and ['Arf ad-Dawla 'Alī] rose to meet him with his men, and they fought. The Emir and his men, who were taking their stand on a high hill, threw rocks and shot arrows at [the ruler of Beirut], then descended on him from the mountain tops, defeated him, and scattered [his troops]. The Emir then took over the *imāra* alone. When the news reached al-Malik aṣ-Ṣāliḥ ibn Nūr ad-Dīn [1174-1181] (4), he wrote him a letter praising his courage and placing the Gharb under his control, as it had been under [the control of] his fathers and grandfathers (5).

Ḥaydar ash-Shihābī, in *Al-ghurar al-ḥisān...*, said that Sharaf ad-Dawla 'Alī of the Tanūkhs had once held the Dāmūr road against the Franks at 'Aramūn (6). Although he gave no date, he appears to have been referring to the same incident which Shidyāq related in more detail. One would have expected to find such an incident listed by Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā among the Buḥturid family exploits; but Ṣāliḥ did not mention the event. He simply stated that 'Alī Tanūkh was probably living in 'Aramūn alone after the sack of Saraḥmūl, while the rest of the Buḥturid family moved to 'Ābay

(1) Shidyāq here did not give the date of Karāma's death, which he held elsewhere (*op. cit.*, p. 275) to be after 1174 (!). Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā (*op. cit.*, p. 54) declares having found no dates of birth or death for Buḥtur, 'Alī, Karāma, and Ḥajjī I.

(2) In 1166 Gautier III of Brisebarre sold back to the crown the fief of Beirut which his family had held since 1110. It was then assigned for a time as a fief to the Byzantine prince Andronicus Comnenus. If the event under consideration took place towards 1172 (see below, p. 201-202), it must have been while this Andronicus was master of Beirut. See R. Grousset, *Histoire des Croisades...*, II, p. 851; E. Rey, "Les seigneurs de Barut", *ROL*, IV (1896), p. 15, 17.

(3) The fort of Sarḥammūr (modern Saraḥmūl), to the south-east of Beirut. See above, p. 180.

(4) Aṣ-Ṣāliḥ Ismā'īl, the son of Nūr ad-Dīn ibn Zengī. See S. Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, p. 163.

(5) Shidyāq, *op. cit.*, p. 717. *Cf.* Ibn Sibāṭ, *op. cit.*, p. 41-42, on which Shidyāq depended.

(6) Shihābī, *op. cit.*, p. 349-350.

after a temporary stay at Ṭirdalā (1). Ṣāliḥ, besides, did not mention that 'Alī Tanūkh had taken over the *iqṭā'* of the Gharb after the murder of his three nephews, the sons of Karāma.

The sack of Saraḥmūl and the murder of the sons of Karāma by the Franks were related by Shidyāq in his chapter on the history of the Buḥturids:

Emir Karāma died... leaving four sons; and the eldest three made peace with the Frankish ruler of Beirut who was kind and friendly to them, and with whom they went hunting on several occasions. One day he invited them to the wedding of his son in Beirut...; and when night came he asked them to a private session in the fort.... They entered the fort with a few of their attendants, and he killed them; and the next morning he went out with a company of Franks to the fort of Saraḥmūl. [On hearing of their approach] the mother [of the emirs] escaped with her youngest son Ḥajjī . . . who was then seven years old (2), and who was later given the title Jamāl ad-Dawla (3). His cousins, the sons of Emir 'Alī, lived in 'Aramūn. As for the Franks, they looted the fort, destroyed it, and threw its stones in a valley. After a few days, Nūr ad-Dīn Zengī wrote to Ḥajjī granting him the village of Jab'a (4).

The history of Ibn Sibāṭ (5) was the main source on which Shidyāq relied for this event. Among the non-Lebanese historians, only Ibn Ḥajar seems to have related it:

[The governor of Beirut] used to attempt the siege of [Karāma] in his fort, but he was not successful. When [Karāma's] sons grew up and began to enjoy hunting, he wrote to them, met them, and showed them great consideration. Gradually he brought out his son, a young man, with them [to the hunt]; then he told them: "I have decided to get him married, and I shall invite [to the wedding] the governors of the coast; so come and attend." The three eldest sons,

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(1) Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā, *op. cit.*, p. 54. Ṣāliḥ reports that he had heard this mentioned said by the older members of his family.

(2) *Ibid.*, p. 52.

(3) Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā gave the *laqab* of Ḥajjī as Jamāl ad-Dawla (p. 51) and also as Jamāl ad-Dīn (p. 50), using the latter more often.

(4) Shidyāq, *op. cit.*, p. 275. Shidyāq took his account from Ibn Sibāṭ (*op. cit.*, p. 41-42), who had relied in turn on Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā (*op. cit.*, p. 50-52). I have not been able to identify Jab'a. It was possibly Jbā', a village to the south-east of Sidon.

(5) See the previous footnote.

therefore, went [to the wedding] and left their youngest brother in the fort. [The Franks] received them with candles and musical instruments; but when the hour of mid-afternoon (*al-'aṣr*) came, [the governor of Beirut] took them by surprise, arrested them, and arrested their attendants; and they were drowned. Then [the governor of Beirut] rode with his soldiers to the fort and took it, and the old [mother of the emirs] left [the fort] with her youngest son, who was seven years old; and he was Ḥajji, the great-grandfather of [Nāṣir ad-Dīn al-Ḥusayn] (1).

Ibn Ḥajar (d. 1468) (2) may have taken part of his information from Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā (3), but his account differs from that of Ṣāliḥ in one point, indicating that he received information from elsewhere. Whereas Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā stated simply that when the three sons of Karāma were taken into the fort "it was the last that was known of them" (4), Ibn Ḥajar said that they were drowned (5).

The date of this event is uncertain. Shidyāq gave no date, but placed it between the events of 1174 and those of 1187. Ibn Ḥajar mentioned no dates at all, his interest having been merely to relate something about the ancestors of Nāṣir ad-Dīn al-Ḥusayn, with whom he was concerned. Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā, however, supplied a useful hint:

It is said that this misfortune took place towards the end of the reign of al-Malik al-'Ādil Nūr ad-Dīn Zengī, who died on Shawwāl 11, 569 [May 15, 1174] (6).

Shidyāq was relying on Ibn Sibāṭ when he related that the grant of Jab'a to Ḥajjī followed the murder of the Emir's brothers and the

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(1) IBN ḤAJAR, *Ad-durar al-kāmina...*, II, p. 54.

(2) C. BROCKELMANN, *op. cit.*, S II, p. 74.

(3) Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā took part in the expedition against Cyprus in 1425. The date of his death is not known; but he must have died before Ibn Ḥajar, his contemporary.

(4) ṢĀLIḤ IBN YAḤYĀ, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

(5) I have not found this event mentioned in any of the earlier Frankish and Arabic sources which I consulted.

(6) ṢĀLIḤ IBN YAḤYĀ, *op. cit.*, p. 51 (J. SAUVAGET, "Corrections...", p. 68).

sack of Saraḥmūl. Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā had not specified a chronological sequence there, but had merely related the grant of Jab'a to Ḥajjī as a separate piece of information. After relating the Frankish attack on Saraḥmūl, he said:

> I found among the old *manāshīr* a *manshūr* addressed to Ḥajjī which I mention here to prove that this Ḥajjī had caught up with the last years of . . . Nūr ad-Dīn. [The] *manshūr* . . . grants only Jab'a in *iqṭā'* to Ḥajjī ibn Karāma, the emir of the Gharb, and his relations; and it [establishes the *iqṭā'*] in the names of eight individuals who may have been his *jund*. The date [of the *manshūr*] is the end of Ramaḍān, 565 [June 17, 1170]. It is possible that [it] was issued during the childhood of Ḥajjī in addition to what was held by his brothers (1).

The investiture of Ḥajjī by Saladin in 1187, which Shidyāq related in his history of the Buḥturids, has already been discussed(2). In his history of the Arslāns he added an interesting note. 'Arf ad-Dawla 'Alī, he said, who had received the *iqṭā'* of the Gharb from aṣ-Ṣāliḥ Ismā'īl (the son and successor of Nūr ad-Dīn) after the murder of Ḥajjī's brothers (3), was greatly displeased when Saladin granted the Gharb to Ḥajjī; and this led to enmity between the two emirs (4). Could this 'Arf ad-Dawla 'Alī have been the Buḥturid Sharaf ad-Dawla 'Alī, the brother of Karāma? Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā mentioned nothing about strained relations between this 'Alī and his nephew Ḥajjī; but it is possible that he merely ignored an enmity the memory of which could have kept the Buḥturid family divided. Perhaps this was why Ṣāliḥ did not mention that Sharaf ad-Dawla 'Alī took over the *iqṭā'* of Karāma after the murder of his sons. On the other hand, it is possible that 'Arf ad-Dawla 'Alī was an Arslānid emir who, having taken advantage of a Buḥturid reverse in order to reestablish the dominance of his family in the Gharb, was greatly angered when this dominance was officially

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(1) Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

(2) Shidyāq, *op. cit.*, p. 275-276. *Cf.* Duwayhī, *TA*, p. 88; Ibn Sibāṭ, *op. cit.*, p. 82. See also above, p. 109-110.

(3) See above, p. 198-199.

(4) Shidyāq, *op. cit.*, p. 717.

restored to the Buḥturids. Whatever may have been the case, it is unlikely that Shidyāq invented this addition to the story, an addition which only embarrassed his narrative. In 1195 (actually 1197) (1), he continued, when the Franks took back Beirut, Ḥajjī was afraid and made peace with ʿArf ad-Dawla ʿAlī (2).

Shidyāq mentioned a letter from Nūr ad-Dīn al-Ayyūbī (al-Afḍal Nūr ad-Dīn ʿAlī) of Damascus (1186-1196) to Ḥajjī urging him to fight the Franks and granting him the whole of the Gharb in *iqṭāʿ* (3). Ibn Sibāṭ mentioned this letter with the date 590 A.H. (1193-1194 A.D.) (4). Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā said that he had come across a letter from al-Afḍal to Ḥajjī dated Ramaḍān 26, 593 A.H. (August 12, 1197 A.D.))5), which appears from the description to be the same as the letter mentioned by Ibn Sibāṭ and Shidyāq. It may be noted here that by 1197 al-Afḍal was no longer the ruler of Damascus. He had been succeeded in that position by his uncle al-ʿĀdil Sayf ad-Dīn Abū Bakr in 592 A.H. (1196 A.D.) (6).

At approximately the same time as the letter, Shidyāq continued, al-Afḍal sent troops to raid Beirut (7). Shidyāq relied here on Ibn Sibāṭ, who had suggested that al-Afḍal's letter to Ḥajjī was a summons for assistance (8). Shidyāq also mentioned another letter from the Sultan to Ḥajjī informing him that he had written to the Franks of Beirut and requested them to keep him (the Emir) in his old position (9). This letter, according to Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā,

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(1) R. Grousset, *op. cit.*, II, p. 852. Amalric II retook Beirut in October 1197. The wrong date given by Shidyāq must have come from Duwayhī (*TA*, p. 95-96), who gave it as 1195.

(2) Shidyāq, *op. cit.*, p. 718.

(3) *Ibid.*, p. 276.

(4) Ibn Sibāṭ, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

(5) Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā, *op. cit.*, p. 52-53 (J. Sauvaget, "Corrections...", p. 69).

(6) S. Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

(7) Shidyāq, *loc. cit.*

(8) Ibn Sibāṭ, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

(9) Shidyāq, *loc. cit.*

was sent to Ḥajjī by al-'Azīz 'Imād ad-Dīn 'Uthmān (Ayyūbid sultan of Egypt, 1193-1198) (1). Ṣāliḥ said that he had seen the letter, but he did not give its date. He added: "This points to the truce with the Franks at the time, and shows that Ḥajjī had complained [to the sultan] about [the behaviour of the Franks towards him]" (2).

Shidyāq did not give the date of Ḥajjī's death; neither did Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā. The latter, however, said that he had come across a letter from al-'Azīz 'Uthmān to Ḥajjī dated Jumādā I 25, 619A.H. (July 7, 1222 A.D.) (3), which shows that the Emir was still alive at the time.

The first half of the thirteenth century was not a period on which Shidyāq said much. He began with the death of 'Arf ad-Dawla 'Alī of the Arslāns in 1229 (4), then proceeded directly to 1246. In that year, he said, al-Malik aṣ-Ṣāliḥ Najm ad-Dīn al-Ayyūbī (5) wrote to Najm ad-Dīn Muḥammad, the son of Jamāl ad-Dīn Ḥajjī of the Buḥturs, commending him for his obedience and his services, confirming him in his position, and increasing the stipend allotted to him and to his followers. The Emir was instructed to recruit for military service whomever he could, and also to prepare a reception for the Sultan who intended to visit the country (the Lebanese coast) (6).

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(1) Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā, *op. cit.*, p. 53. S. Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, p. 77. The sultan in question was not al-'Azīz 'Uthmān. See below, fn. 3.

(2) Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā, *loc. cit.*

(3) If the date of the letter is correct, then it could not have been sent to Ḥajjī by al-'Azīz 'Uthmān of Egypt. The sultan of Egypt at the time was al-Kāmil (1218-1238), and al-Mu'aẓẓam 'Īsā was sultan of Damascus (1218-1227). S. Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, p. 77-78. Ibn Sibāṭ (*op. cit.*, p. 93-94) doubted the authorship of the letter on the same grounds, suggesting that it must have been sent to Ḥajjī by either al-Kāmil of Egypt or al-Mu'aẓẓam of Damascus.

(4) Shidyāq, *op. cit.*, p. 718. On this occasion Shidyāq gave 'Alī's full name as 'Arf ad-Dawla Qiyām ad-Dīn 'Alī, known as Arslān, son of Buḥtur.

(5) Aṣ-Ṣāliḥ Najm ad-Dīn Ayyūb was Ayyūbid sultan of Egypt (1240-1249). S. Lane-Poole, *loc. cit.*

(6) Shidyāq, *op. cit.*, p. 276. *Cf.* Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

In that same year (1246), Shidyāq continued (1), Muḥammad ibn Ḥajjī and his brother Sharaf ad-Dīn 'Alī were killed in Thughrat al-Jawzāt, in Kisrawān (2). Other sources related this event under the year 1242 (3). This would place the *manshūr* of aṣ-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb to Muḥammad before that year. Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā and Ibn Sibāṭ, both of whom gave the date of Muḥammad's death as Rabī' II 6, 640 A.H. (October 3, 1242 A.D.), reproduced the text of the *manshūr* with the date as Dhū'l-Ḥijja 6, without mentioning the year; and Ibn Sibāṭ added that the year did not appear in the original *manshūr* (4). Considering that Dhū'l-Ḥijjā is the last month of the Hijra year, the date of the letter must have been 639 A.H. (May 19, 1242) at the latest. Ibn Sibāṭ, copying from the same source as Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā, doubted the date 640 A.H. which he found given to the death of Emir Muḥammad:

We found a historical note in the handwriting of some Tanūkhid in which it is mentioned that the sons of the Emir of the Gharb, Najm ad-Dīn Muḥammad and his brother Sharaf ad-Dīn 'Alī (5), were killed in Thughrat al-Jawzāt in Kisrawān on Rabī' II 6, 640. Perhaps this is a mistake in the number because by [that] year al-Malik aṣ-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb had not yet taken Damascus. He took it in 643 and went himself to Damascus in 644 (6) . . . . And the correspondence between him and Emir Najm ad-Dīn [Muḥammad] was perhaps in that year. The [author of this historical notice] may have . . . forgotten to add the four [to the forty]. God knows best (7).

Shidyāq, copying from Ibn Sibāṭ, discarded the date 640 and substituted for it 1246 (644 A.H.), thus giving a more acceptable

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(1) Shidyāq, *loc. cit.*

(2) See above, p. 110.

(3) Duwayhī, *TA*, p. 117; Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā, *op. cit.*, p. 55; Ibn Sibāṭ, *op. cit.*, p. 121-122.

(4) Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā, *op. cit.*, p. 54-55; Ibn Sibāṭ, *op. cit.*, p. 120-122.

(5) In the available manuscript of Ibn Sibāṭ it reads "the sons of his brother Sharaf ad-Dīn 'Alī". Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā has it simply as "his brother Sharaf ad-Dīn 'Alī", and so do Duwayhī and Shidyāq, both of whom copied from a manuscript of Ibn Sibāṭ.

(6) S. Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

(7) Ibn Sibāṭ, *op. cit.*, p. 121-122.

date for the death of Najm ad-Dīn Muḥammad than Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā, and likewise the probable date of the *manshūr* in question.

In 1249, Shidyāq continued, aṣ-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb issued a *manshūr* to Zayn ad-Dīn Ṣāliḥ ibn 'Alī granting him the *iqṭā'* inherited from his father (Bayṣūr, Majdaliyyā, one third of 'Aramūn, Kayfūn, and al-Bīra, with their *mazāri'*) (1), together with new *iqṭā'* holdings in the west and south of "the mountain of Beirut" (2) (al-Qmā-ṭiyya, Bmakkīn, Shimlāl or Shimlān (3), Btāthir (4), and Kafar'ammay, with their *mazāri'*). This *iqṭā'*, said the *manshūr*, was given to him for his services and "to encourage him to continue in guarding the *thughūr* entrusted to him in the west [of the country]" (5). Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā gave the date of this *manshūr* as Rabī' II 19, 646 A.H. (August 12, 1248 A.D.) (6).

Elsewhere, Shidyāq said that aṣ-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb had issued a *manshūr* in his own handwriting to Abū'l-Jaysh Ṣāliḥ, son of 'Arf ad-Dawla 'Alī of the Arslāns, granting him certain villages in *iqṭā'* to recompense him for guarding the *thughūr*. Here again Shidyāq gave the date as 1249 (7). Did aṣ-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb issue two *manāshīr* in the same year, one to the Buḥturid emir and the other to his Arslānid namesake? More likely, it was Shidyāq again confusing between Abū'l-Jaysh Ṣāliḥ and the Buḥturid Zayn ad-Dīn Ṣāliḥ.

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(1) Bayṣūr, Majdaliyya, and Kayfūn are villages in the upper Gharb. Al-Bīra is a village in the Shūf. A *mazra'a* (pl. *mazāri'*) in Lebanon is an area of agricultural land surrounding a small group of farmers' houses and dependent on a more important village nearby.

(2) *Jabal Bayrūt*, a term sometimes used by Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā and by Ibn Sibāṭ to denote the Gharb.

(3) Al-Qmāṭiyya, Bmakkīn, and Shimlāl (modern Shimlān) are villages in the upper Gharb.

(4) Btāthir (modern Btātir) is a village in the Jird, and the principal village of the district in Ottoman times.

(5) SHIDYĀQ, *op. cit.*, p. 276-277.

(6) ṢĀLIḤ IBN YAḤYĀ, *op. cit.*, p. 79, fn.3: marginal note from the original manuscript of Ṣāliḥ's history.

(7) SHIDYĀQ. *op. cit.*, p. 718.

Proceeding with the history of the Buḥturids, Shidyāq said that Jamāl ad-Dīn Ḥajjī, the son of Najm ad-Dīn Muḥammad (1) (hence Ḥajjī II), received in 1256 from an-Nāṣir Ṣalāḥ ad-Dīn Yūsuf (Ayyūbid ruler of Damascus, 1250-1260) a *manshūr* renewing his *iqṭā'* of the following villages: 'Aramūn, 'Ayn Drāfīl, Ṭirdalā, 'Ayn Ksūr, Ramṭūn, Qadrūn, Mratghūn, as-Sibāḥiyya, Saraḥmūl, 'Aynāb, 'Ayn 'Nūb, and ad-Duwayr (2). Both Ibn Sibāṭ and Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā (the latter had seen the *manshūr*) gave its date as Ṣafar 25, 650 A.H. (May 7, 1252 A.D.) (3). This document has already been discussed (4).

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(1) Genealogical table of the Buḥturid emirs mentioned:

Karāma
Jamāl ad-Dīn Ḥajjī I
- Najm ad-Dīn Muḥammad I †
  - Jamāl ad-Dīn Ḥajjī II
    - Najm ad-Dīn Muḥammad II (founder of the 'Aynāb branch of the Buḥturids)
  - Sa'd ad-Dīn Khiḍr
    - Nāṣir ad-Dīn al-Ḥusayn
- Sharaf ad-Dīn 'Alī †

(†) The emirs marked thus were the ones killed at Thughrat al-Jawzāt. See above, p. 205.

(2) 'Aramūn, 'Ayn Drāfīl, Ṭirdalā (at present a ruin), 'Ayn Ksūr, Ramṭūn, ad-Duwayr, and Saraḥmūl have already been identified in the study on Duwayhī. I have not been able to identify Qadrūn or as-Sibāḥiyya (in Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā and Ibn Sibāṭ, aṣ-Ṣabāḥiyya). 'Aynāb is a village in the upper Gharb, 'Ayn 'Nūb is in the lower Gharb, and Mratghūn (see Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā, *op. cit.*, p. 56, fn. 1) was a village near Khalda, in Sāḥil Bayrūt, which is at present a ruin.

(3) Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā, *op. cit.*, p. 55-56; Ibn Sibāṭ, *op. cit.*, p. 132-143.

(4) See above, p. 110.

Shidyāq next mentioned a *manshūr* issued in 1257 by al-Mu'izz Aybak (1250-1257, the first Baḥrī Mamluk sultan of Egypt) to Sa'd ad-Dīn Khiḍr, brother of Ḥajjī II, granting him the *iqṭā'* of several villages outside the Gharb, in the Shūf, Wādī at-Taym, and Iqlīm al-Kharrūb (1). Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā and Ibn Sibāṭ gave the date of this *manshūr* as Rabī' I 27, 654 A.H. (April 24, 1256) (2).

The *manshūr* from Aybak to Khiḍr helps to explain the next event related by Shidyāq. In the same year as the *manshūr*, he said, Ibn Wadūd and Ibn Ḥātim (3) came to the Gharb with troops, and also with tribesmen from Baalbek and the Biqā'. They were met and routed by the Buḥturid emirs and their men at 'Aytāt, in the upper Gharb (4). Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā had mentioned this event as follows:

> I found in the handwriting of one of my ancestors the following: "Ibn Wadūd and Ibn Ḥātim came to the Gharb with soldiers, and gathered against it tribesmen from the *wilāyāt* of Baalbek and the two Biqā's (5). They were defeated and looted by the sons of the Emir of the Gharb, who made peace with them and let them go. This [battle] took place in the village of 'Aytāt on the second day of Dhū'l-Qa'da, 653 [December 3, 1255]." I heard, besides, from those who are informed that Zayn ad-Dīn [Ṣāliḥ of the Buḥturs] . . . was the cause of their defeat, and that he acquired fame because of this (6).

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(1) SHIDYĀQ, *op. cit.*, p. 277. He enumerated the following villages of the Shūf: al-Ma'āṣir al-Fawqāniyya, Ba'dharān, 'Ayn Māṭūr, Batlūn, 'Ayn Ūzay, Kafarnabrakh, Brīḥ, Gharīfa. He also mentioned Nīḥā, which is listed in Ibn Sibāṭ (p. 135), but not in Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā (p. 61). Other villages were Tannūrā and aẓ-Ẓahr al-Aḥmar in Wādī at-Taym and Barjā, B'āṣīr, and Shḥīm in Iqlīm al-Kharrūb.

(2) ṢĀLIḤ IBN YAḤYĀ, *op. cit.*, p. 61. IBN SIBĀṬ, *op. cit.*, p. 135.

(3) I could identify neither of them. They were probably the *wūlāt* (local governors) of the districts of the Biqā', al-Biqā' al-'Azīzī and al-Biqā' al-Ba'albakī. See below, fn. 5.

(4) SHIDYĀQ, *op. cit.*, p. 277. IBN SIBĀṬ, *op. cit.*, p. 136.

(5) Baalbek, al-Biqā' al-'Azīzī, and al-Biqā' al-Ba'albakī were three *wilāyāt* in the northern march of the *mamlaka* of Damascus under the Mamluks. M. GAUDEFROY-DESMOMBYNES, *op. cit.*, p. 70-73.

(6) ṢĀLIḤ IBN YAḤYĀ, *op. cit.*, p. 64. Shidyāq relied on IBN SIBĀṬ (*op. cit.*, p. 136) for the wrong date.

Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā then proceeded to comment:

This event took place in the days of an-Nāṣir Yūsuf, sultan of Damascus, and the Turkoman al-Mu'izz Aybak, sultan of Egypt. Between these two there was disagreement and war, and the Franks [in those days] occupied the coastlands. It is supposed that the Damascenes believed the emirs of the Gharb to be on the side of the Egyptians, and [that is why] they [organized an attack on the Gharb]. This is indicated, among other things, by the afore-mentioned *manshūr* from al-Mu'izz Aybak to Sa'd ad-Dīn Khiḍr.... It is perplexing to find that whereas Beirut is [in the province of] Damascus, the *manshūr* is Egyptian. An-Nāṣir wanted to take Egypt and al-Mu'izz wanted to subdue an-Nāṣir; and the dispute between them continued until. . . they agreed that Syria, as fa [south] as al-'Arīsh, would go to an-Nāṣir and that Egypt would go to al-Mu'izz. This was in 653 [1255 A.D.] (1).

Aybak's *manshūr* and the unsuccessful raid on the Gharb by Ibn Wadūd and Ibn Ḥātim, who must have been in the service of an-Nāṣir of Damascus, point to the Buḥturid policy of double-dealing. While the struggle between the rising Mamluk State in Egypt and the Ayyūbid State of Damascus over the control of Syria continued, the Buḥturids seem to have played on both sides: Ḥajjī II received the *iqṭā'* of the Gharb from an-Nāṣir, while his brother Khiḍr received the *iqṭā'* of villages outside the Gharb from Aybak. There is also evidence in Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā that the Buḥturids also played on a third side — that of the Franks of Beirut (2). Perhaps the best example of Buḥturid duplicity was the role which they played in 1260 at the battle of 'Ayn Jālūt between the Mamluks and the Mongols. In 1259 (3), said Shidyāq, when the Ilkhāns took Damascus from an-Nāṣir, Emir Ḥajjī II and his cousin Zayn ad-Dīn Ṣāliḥ ibn 'Alī went to Damascus and offered their submis-

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(1) Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā, *loc. cit.* For the struggle between an-Nāṣir of Damascus and al-Mu'izz Aybak of Egypt, which ended in 654 A.H. (1256 A.D.) with the agreement to which Ṣāliḥ refers, see M. Quatremère, *Histoire des sultans Mamlouks...*, I, i, p. 15-61. According to the agreement, al-Mu'izz Aybak was to keep "that part of the coast of Syria which had belonged to al-Malik aṣ-Ṣāliḥ Najm ad-Dīn Ayyūb" — the last Ayyūbid sultan of Egypt.

(2) Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā, *op. cit.*, p. 80.

(3) Actually 1260 (658 A.H.). M. Quatremère, *op. cit.*, I, i, p. 97.

sion to Ketbughā, the new governor appointed by Hūlāgū. When the Mamluk sultan al-Muẓaffar Quṭuz (1259-1260) appeared in Syria and advanced against the Mongols, the two emirs were in a dilemma, not knowing on which side to fight. Finally, Zayn ad-Dīn Ṣāliḥ went over to assist the advancing Egyptians, while Ḥajjī II remained with the Mongols in Damascus. At ʿAyn Jālūt (September 3, 1260) (1) the Mongols were routed. Many of them took refuge in the mountains where they were subsequently besieged by the Egyptians; and Zayn ad-Dīn Ṣāliḥ distinguished himself as an archer in the mountain siege. After the Mamluk victory Quṭuz, who had heard of Ṣāliḥ's previous connections with the Mongols, ordered his death; but his Mamluk comrades interceded for him and his life was spared (2).

Shidyāq added that when Ketbughā occupied Damascus (3), he issued a *manshūr* to Ḥajjī II confirming his old *iqṭā*ʿ (4). Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā gave the text of this document:

> Possessor of the surface of the Earth, Hūlāgū Khān, may his greatness increase.... [It has been] decreed by High Command. . . that the great emir Jamāl ad-Dīn . . . Ḥajjī . . . shall continue to hold the *iqṭā*ʿ assigned to him by the *manshūr* of an-Nāṣir . . . (5).

The *manshūr* is dated Rajab 7, 658 A.H. (June 18, 1260 A.D.). There is no evidence of a *manshūr* issued by Hūlāgū to Ḥajjī's cousin Zayn ad-Dīn Ṣāliḥ.

When Shidyāq related the role played by the Buḥturid emirs in connection with the struggle between the Mamluks and the Mongols, he relied on Ibn Sibāṭ who, in turn, had depended on Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā. Apart from the *manshūr* quoted above, Ṣāliḥ had

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(1) *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, I, p. 212, col. i, under "ʿAyn Jālūt".

(2) SHIDYĀQ, *op. cit.*, p. 277-278. *Cf.* IBN SIBĀṬ, *op. cit.*, p. 150-151; ṢĀLIḤ IBN YAḤYĀ, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

(3) M. QUATREMÈRE, *loc. cit.* Ketbughā arrived in Damascus on Rabīʿ I 16, 658 (February 29, 1260).

(4) SHIDYĀQ, *op. cit.*, p. 278. *Cf.* IBN SIBĀṬ, *op. cit.*, p. 151.

(5) ṢĀLIḤ IBN YAḤYĀ, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

no documentary evidence to support the story, but relied on an oral tradition related to him by older members of his family (1). Shidyāq gave a second version of the story in the chapter on the Arslāns, possibly relying on the Arslān family history. According to this version, it was Ḥajjī II and Abū'l-Jaysh Ṣāliḥ (not Zayn ad-Dīn Ṣāliḥ of the Buḥturs) who approached Ketbughā after the latter had occupied Damascus. Shidyāq here mentioned no plan of action on which the two emirs agreed before the battle of 'Ayn Jālūt. He simply said that when Quṭuz advanced against the Mongols, Abū'l-Jaysh was fighting on his side and performing feats of archery, which saved his neck when Quṭuz later charged him with having had dealings with the Mongols. Ketbughā, Shidyāq continued, had issued a *manshūr* to Ḥajjī II confirming the *iqṭā'* he already held; so after the Mamluk victory at 'Ayn Jālūt, Ḥajjī was forced to share the *imāra* of the Gharb with Abū'l-Jaysh. Later, when Ḥajjī, his brother, and his cousin Zayn ad-Dīn Ṣāliḥ were arrested and imprisoned by Baybars, the *imāra* of the Gharb fell completely to Abū'l-Jaysh (2).

Although no evidence is found to prove this version of the story, it does not appear improbable. Shidyāq mentioned that the *imāra* of the Gharb was shared by Ḥajjī II and Abū'l-Jaysh Ṣāliḥ after the defeat of the Mongols, whom the Buḥturid Emir had supported at 'Ayn Jālūt. Neither Ibn Sibāṭ nor Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā had mentioned this, which indicates that Shidyāq may have been drawing on a third source which is no longer available. It appears from this version that Ḥajjī II and Abū'l-Jaysh went to Damascus to seek the favours of Ketbughā independently of each other. Ḥajjī was successful in his purpose; but it seems that Abū'l-Jaysh was not, so he went over to the side of the Mamluks who were advancing against the Mongols. After 'Ayn Jālūt the Mamluks recompensed their Lebanese ally by making him share the *imāra* of the Gharb

(1) *Ibid.*, p. 65.

(2) Shidyāq, *op. cit.*, p. 718-719. See above, p. 111-112, and below, p. 212-214.

with Ḥajjī II. Later, as it will be seen, the sons of Abū'l-Jaysh plotted against the Buḥturids, with the result that Ḥajjī II, his brother Khiḍr, and his cousin Ṣāliḥ were arrested and imprisoned. This made Abū'l-Jaysh, for a short period, the sole commanding emir in the Gharb.

Before proceeding to relate the imprisonment of the Buḥturid emirs, Shidyāq mentioned the *manshūr* which Baybars issued to Ḥajjī II in 1260, granting him the *iqṭā'* of 'Ālay (1), Majdal Ba'nā, Shārūn (2), 'Aramūn, 'Ayn Drāfīl, Ṭirdalā, Daqqūn (3), 'Ayn Ksūr, Qadrūn, Shimlāl, Mratghūn, Saraḥmūl, Bṭallūn (4), 'Aynāb, ad-Duwayr, Btāthir, Bayṣūr, Kafar'ammay, 'Aytāt, and as-Sibā ḥiyya (5). The correct date of this *manshūr* is Rajab 8, 659 A.H. (June 8, 1261 A.D.) (6).

Next Shidyāq told of the arrest and imprisonment of the Buḥturid emirs:

One day, one of the sons of Abū'l-Jaysh who were jealous of the [two] (7) emirs [Jamāl ad-Dīn Ḥajjī and Zayn ad-Dīn Ṣāliḥ] wrote a letter in their names to the Frankish ruler of Tripoli (8) asking him about matters which would lead to the arrest [of the emirs] should [the letter] fall into the hands of the Sultan. The son of Abū'l-Jaysh arranged it so that the answer of the prince [of Tripoli] reached al-Malik aẓ-Ẓāhir [Baybars]. On receiving it [Baybars] was angry with the two emirs and ordered their arrest; and in the year 1271

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(1) 'Ālay (Aley) is a village in the upper Gharb, and at present a thriving summer resort.

(2) Shārūn is a village in the Jird.

(3) Daqqūn (in Shidyāq "Dfūn", in other sources Daqqūn), is a village the Shaḥḥār district, in the lower Gharb.

(4) Bṭallūn is a village in the Jird.

(5) Shidyāq, *op. cit.*, p. 278. As-Sibāḥiyya is called aṣ-Ṣabāḥiyya by Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā and Ibn Sibāṭ. See above, p. 207, fn. 2.

(6) Ibn Sibāṭ, *op. cit.*, p. 155 ; Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā, *op. cit.*, p. 56 (J. Sauvaget, "Corrections...", p. 69).

(7) The double plural sign for the word *amīr* is missing due to a misprint.

(8) Bohemond VI le Beau, Prince of Antioch (1251-1268) and Count of Tripoli (1251-1275). See genealogical table of the princes of Antioch, back of R. Grousset, *op. cit.*, III.

[he] imprisoned Emir Jamāl ad-Dīn Ḥajjī ibn Muḥammad, his brother Sa'd ad-Dīn Khiḍr, and Emir Zayn ad-Dīn 'Alī (1). Emir Zayn ad-Dīn was imprisoned in Egypt, Emir Jamāl ad-Dīn in al-Karak, and Emir Sa'd ad-Dīn in the fortress of 'Ajlūn (2). Later, all three were brought together in the prison of Egypt (3).

The Buḥturids were certainly not above suspicion of dealing with the Franks, as Shidyāq, Ibn Sibāṭ, and Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā seem to have maintained. Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥya mentioned a letter from the Frankish ruler of Sidon to Ḥajjī II which he found among the family papers, but he did not realize its significance in revealing relations between the Buḥturids and the Franks:

> I came across a letter from Renaud(4) the Frank, ruler of Sidon, [which says] that he had given the afore-mentioned Ḥajjī a plot of land (*shakāra*) for the sowing of three *ahrā'* (5) of wheat in the village of Dāmūr as his property and the property of his son, [or] whoever takes his place.... Its date is Thursday (6), the year of Alexander 1567 [1256 A.D.] (7).

Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā also mentioned a letter from the Frankish ruler of Beirut, Humfroy de Monfort (1264-1283)(8), to Zayn ad-

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(1) Correctly, Zayn ad-Dīn Ṣāliḥ ibn 'Alī.

(2) 'Ajlūn, a fortress town of the *jund* of Jordan, became the administrative centre of the *niyāba* of 'Ajlūn (in the *mamlaka* of Damascus) under the Mamluks. The town fortress was built by 'Izz ad-Dīn Usāma ibn Munqidh in 1184-1185. See M. GAUDEFROY-DESMOMBYNES, *La Syrie...*, p. 66, 179.

(3) SHIDYĀQ, *op. cit.*, p. 278-279. *Cf.* ṢĀLIḤ IBN YAḤYĀ, *op. cit.*, p. 59, 66-71; IBN SIBĀṬ, *op. cit.*, p. 184-188. See also above, p. 111-112.

(4) In the original ريناط . The lord of Sidon at the time was not Renaud (1171-1200), who died sometime before 1204, but his grandson Julien (1247-1275). This Julien dissipated his seigneury by his unwise distribution of land grants. See John L. LA MONTE, "The lords of Sidon in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries", in *Byzantion*, XVII (1944-1945), p. 193-200, 206-209.

(5) *Ahrā'* (sing. *hariyya*?): granaries. The *ahrā'*, apparently, were vessels in which grain was stored. See R. DOZY, *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes*; M. QUATREMÈRE, *op. cit.*, I, i, p. 52, n. 74. They appear to have been used as measures of capacity.

(6) Ṣāliḥ did not give the exact date.

(7) ṢĀLIḤ IBN YAḤYĀ, *op. cit.*, p. 57-58.

(8) See the genealogy of the house of Ibelin at the back of R. GROUSSET,

Dīn Ṣāliḥ of the Buḥturs granting him a *shakāra* in al-ʻAmrūsiyya (near Shwayfāt) on certain conditions. The Emir was not to sell the property nor give it away. He was to assist the ruler of Beirut, and he was expected to surrender fugitives from Beirut within eight days of their arrival in his territory. He was also to keep his followers from causing damage in the territory of Beirut. The letter was dated in 1592 S.E. (1281 A.D.) (1).

The imprisonment of the Buḥturid emirs and their release after the death of Baybars have already been discussed (2). In 1283, Shidyāq continued, the sons of Abū'l-Jaysh forged another letter in the names of Ḥajjī II, Khiḍr, and Ṣāliḥ (Shidyāq giving his name here as ʻAlī, instead of ibn ʻAlī) and addressed it to the Franks of Sidon. The letter assured the Franks that the three emirs intended to remain faithful to their agreement — a statement calculated to incriminate them. The Abū'l-Jaysh plot, however, was discovered (3). Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā quoted a document testifying to the innocence of the Buḥturid emirs:

> I have seen a testimony . . . dated Ṣafar 28, 682 [May 28, 1283] which I would like to mention here while relating what happened [to the three emirs].... It says: "The witnesses know that Taqī'd-Dīn Najā ibn Abū'l-Jaysh ibn Mufriḥ (4) is known for his falsehood, slander, and lies in his correspondence with the Franks and others in the names of the emirs Zayn ad-Dīn Ṣāliḥ ibn ʻAlī and Jamāl ad-Dīn Ḥajjī and his brother . . . Saʻd ad-Dīn Khiḍr. He is set against them and seeks to cause them harm in every way. This Taqī'd-Dīn went to Sidon and Acre on the first of Muḥarram, 682 [April 1, 1283] with letters forged in his writing in the names of the afore-mentioned [emirs], and they knew nothing about it. The witnesses are not aware that the afore-mentioned [emirs] are connected with any of this." Its witnesses are from the

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op. cit., III. Ṣāliḥ transliterated the name as هنفرى بن دمونقرب. Humfroy, who did not belong to the house of Ibelin, became lord of Beirut by marrying Echive, daughter of Jean II of Ibelin (1247-1264).

(1) Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā, *op. cit.*, p. 80.

(2) See above, p. 111-112.

(3) Shidyāq, *op. cit.*, p. 280. *Cf.* Ibn Sibāṭ, *op. cit.*, p. 199-200.

(4) Shidyāq called him Najā ibn Mufarrij ibn Abū'l-Jaysh. See above, p. 191-192, 194 fn. 6.

village of al-Maydān in the land of Sidon; and there are also signatures of witnesses in Turkish . . . (1).

Nothing is said about the Abū'l-Jaysh plots against the Buḥturids after the unsuccessful plot of Taqī'd-Dīn Najā in 1283. Starting with that date the Abū'l-Jaysh (always called the Arslāns by Shidyāq) appear to have become gradually reconciled to their subordinate position in the Gharb, leaving the leadership to the Buḥturids (2).

Shidyāq mentioned the sack of the Gharb in 1278, which took place while the three Buḥturid emirs were still in prison in Egypt (3). In 1289, he continued, after the fall of Tripoli, the Buḥturids lost their *iqṭā'*, but received it back during the reigns of al-Ashraf Khalīl and an-Nāṣir Muḥammad (4). Qalāwūn confiscated the *iqṭā'* of the Buḥturids in 1288 and transformed it into a reserve of land for the *ḥalqa* of Tripoli (5). He may have intended this as a measure

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(1) Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā, *op. cit.*, p. 72-73. L. Cheikho (*ibid.*, p. 73, fn.1) identifies al-Maydān as a village in Iqlīm Jazzīn, to the east of Sidon.

(2) According to Shidyāq (*op. cit.*, p. 725-726), a descendant of Abū'l-Jaysh, Jamāl ad-Dīn Aḥmad Arslān, joined the *nā'ib* of Damascus al-Ghazālī in his betrayal of the Mamluks at the time of the Ottoman conquest, in 1516. When al-Ghazālī was made *wālī* of Damascus by the Ottomans, he appointed this Jamāl ad-Dīn Aḥmad governor of the Gharb, the Matn, and the Jird, to replace the Buḥturids who had remained faithful to the Mamluks.

(3) *Ibid.*, p. 279; see above, p. 111-112.

(4) *Ibid.*, p. 281.

(5) Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā (*op. cit.*, p. 77-78) referred to the history of Ibn Abū'l-Hayjā' ('Izz ad-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Abū'l-Hayjā' al-Hadhabānī al-Irbilī, d. 700 A.H. (1301 A.D.), prefect of Damascus, historian, and poet; see Gaston Wiet, *op. cit.*, p. 364, No. 2425) when he related the following: In 687 A.H. (1288 A.D.) Qalāwūn summoned the emirs of the mountains and confiscated their properties and *iqṭā'āt*, all except those of a certain Ibn al-Mu'īn. Later, after Qalāwūn had conquered Tripoli, the Buḥturid *iqṭā'* was transferred to the *ḥalqa* of Tripoli. Ṣāliḥ then related how the Buḥturids received their fiefs back under al-Ashraf Khalīl and an-Nāṣir Muḥammad. A. N. Poliak (*op. cit.*, p. 26-27), referring to Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā (*op. cit.*, p. 77-78, 90) and Ibn Ḥajar (*op. cit.*, II, p. 55), made the following comment on these events: "On the occasion of the conquest of Tripoli in 1289, which made the Mamlūks much more

of centralization, by replacing the often independable local warrior clans and their chieftains with his own *jund*. Qalāwūn probably distrusted the Buḥturids, as well as the other Lebanese emirs (1), because of their previous relations with the Franks and the Mongols. When, later on, al-Ashraf Khalīl and an-Nāṣir Muḥammad restored the *iqṭā'* of the Gharb to the Buḥturids, the emirs were enrolled in the *ḥalqa* (2).

Shidyāq mentioned the restoration of the Buḥturid *iqṭā'* in 1291 and 1293 (3). Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā had mentioned the *manshūr* dated Rabī' I 3, 691 A.H. (February 23, 1292 A.D.), which al-Ashraf Khalīl addressed to "Nāṣir ad-Dīn al-Ḥusayn (ibn Khiḍr) and Shihāb ad-Dīn Aḥmad, the son of his uncle Ḥajjī, who are new in the service of the *ḥalqa* of Damascus" (4). He had also mentioned a *manshūr* from an-Nāṣir Muḥammad, dated Dhū'l-Ḥijja 4, 693 A.H. (October 25, 1294 A.D.), readmitting Zayn ad-Dīn 'Alī (Ṣāliḥ ibn 'Alī) into the sultan's service and granting him an *iqṭā'* (5). Shidyāq added that when the Buḥturid *iqṭā'* was restored by al-Ashraf Khalīl in 1290 (actually 1292), there were also two Arslānid emirs, Sayf ad-Dīn Mufarrij ibn Yūsuf ibn Abū'l-Jaysh and his cousin 'Imād ad-Dīn Mūsā ibn Mas'ūd, who received *iqṭā'* (6). This

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powerful in the Lebanon, Qalāūn confiscated all the fiefs of the Lebanese chieftains [who had no fixed military duties, except the communication of intelligence regarding the activities of the Crusaders] and transformed them into the reserve of lands for the newly established *al-ḥalqa* of Tripoli. Afterwards the chieftains gradually recovered most of their fiefs, but this time they were created knights of *al-ḥalqa* or emirs of specified grades, ordered to maintain mamlūk troops corresponding to their rank, and made responsible for the watch of roads and shores in specified regions." Later on (*ibid.*, p. 27, fn. 2), depending on Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā (*op. cit.*, p. 97, 98), Poliak added: "The more influential chieftains used to receive the humbler ones into their service as mamlūks."

(1) See previous footnote.

(2) *Ibid.*

(3) Shidyāq, *op. cit.*, p. 281. See also above, p. 113.

(4) Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā, *op. cit.*, p. 89.

(5) *Ibid.*, p. 79-80.

(6) Shidyāq, *op. cit.*, p. 719.

is not attested by other sources, but one must note here that Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā mentioned 'Imād ad-Dīn Mūsā of the Abū'l-Jaysh among the emirs who received *iqṭā'* after the *rawk* (cadastre) of 1313 (1).

Shidyāq's account of the first raid on Kisrawān and the Jird in 1295 (actually 1292) (2) is the same as Duwayhī's in *Tārīkh aṭ-ṭā'ifa al-mārūniyya* (3). After relating the expedition, Shidyāq mentioned the death of Zayn ad-Dīn Ṣāliḥ in 1295, of Jamāl ad-Dīn Ḥajjī in 1297, and of Sa'd ad-Dīn Khiḍr in 1313 (4). Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā (5) gave these dates as Rabī' II 18, 695 A.H. (February 14, 1296 A.D.), Shawwāl 12, 697 A.H. (July 23, 1298 A.D.), and Dhū'l-Qa'da 12, 713 A.H. (February 28, 1314A.D.). Shidyāq, like Duwayhī, did not consider the exact date when he changed Hijra into Christian years, hence the slight errors.

In 1302, Shidyāq continued, the Franks raided Dāmūr from the sea. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd, a son of Ḥajjī II who happened to be there, was killed and his brother 'Abdallāh was taken prisoner. Five days later, Emir Nāṣir ad-Dīn al-Ḥusayn ibn Khiḍr ransomed his cousin 'Abdallāh for 3000 Tyrian dinars (6). Ibn Sibāṭ and Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā gave the date of this event as Wednesday, Jumādā I 8, 702 A.H. (December 29, 1302 A.D.) (7).

The expedition against Kisrawān in 1305, already discussed in the study of Duwayhī, was the next event related by Shidyāq:

In 1304 the *nā'ib* of Damascus Āqqūsh al-Afram sent the *sharīf* Zayn ad-Dīn

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(1) Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā, *op. cit.*, p. 94.

(2) Shidyāq, *op. cit.*, p. 259-261.

(3) Duwayhī, *TTM*, p. 376; see above, p. 115 *et seq.*

(4) Shidyāq, *op. cit.*, p. 281.

(5) Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā, *op. cit.*, p. 60, 63, 82.

(6) Shidyāq, *op. cit.*, p. 284-285. *Cf.* Duwayhī, *TA*, p. 160. Ibn Sibāṭ, *op. cit.*, p. 289-290; Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā, *op. cit.*, p. 150.

(7) Ibn Sibāṭ, *op. cit.*, p. 289; Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā, *loc. cit.* It must be remembered that, just over two months before this Frankish raid upon Dāmūr, the Mamluks had organized a naval expedition against Arwād and taken it from the Franks (Ṣafar 28, 702). See Quatremère, *op. cit.*, II, ii, p. 195-196.

[ibn] ʻAdnān (1) to Kisrawān to bring the mountaineers back to obedience and to reconcile them with the Tanūkhid emirs, of whom they had killed two emirs when [the Tanūkhids] fought on the side of the Moslems at the battle of Jubayl (2). Then [Āqqūsh] sent to them Taqī'd-Dīn ibn Taymiyya and the emir Bahā' ad-Dīn Qarāqūsh; but they did not agree to make peace and they renounced allegiance to Āqqūsh. When the delegates returned, the *ʻulamā'* of Islam produced a *fatwa* (juridical decision) for killing [the mountaineers of Kisrawān] and taking them into captivity because they had fallen upon the Moslem troops at the battle of Jubayl, and because they had not returned to obedience. Āqqūsh started to collect troops from all parts of Syria, [and continued the preparations] for three years. In 1307 he advanced against the Jird and Kisrawān with 50,000 troops. They were met at ʻAyn Ṣawfar by ten Druze emirs leading 10,000 troops from the Jird. A great battle took place and the emirs were defeated.... The [Mamluk] troops then surrounded those mountain fastnesses, dismounted, and advanced up from all sides, treading a land the inhabitants of which never imagined anyone would reach. They destroyed the villages, cut down the vines, demolished the churches, and killed [or] captured all the Druzes and Christians in [that country].... Finally Āqqūsh ordered the Turkomans to settle on the coast of Kisrawān.... Their *darak* was from Anṭilyās to Maghārat al-Asad and the bridge of al-Muʻāmaltayn; and they were divided into three relays, with every hundred horsemen taking the watch for one month . . . at the fort of Jūniya (3).

Shidyāq gave the same dates as Duwayhī for the visits of the *sharīf* Zayn ad-Dīn ibn ʻAdnān and Ibn Taymiyya to Kisrawān

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(1) Elsewhere (*Akhbār al-aʻyān...*, p. 719-720), Shidyāq gave his name fully as Zayn ad-Dīn Muḥammad ibn ʻAdnān. See above, p. 117, fn. 5.

(2) Shidyāq meant here the first expedition against Kisrawān in 1293, when (according to Ibn al-Qilāʻī, see above, p. 69-72) the main battle was fought outside Jubayl. As it has already been noted (above, p. 117, fn. 1), the two Buḥturid emirs in question did not lose their lives at that battle, but later on, during the expedition of 1305. It must also be noted here that Shidyāq followed Duwayhī in presuming that Ibn ʻAdnān, Ibn Taymiyya, and Qarāqūsh had come to Lebanon to reconcile the Kisrawānīs and the Buḥturids (*Cf.* above, p.117-118). Shidyāq, however, did not follow Duwayhī in using the word *iṣlāḥ* (reform), as it appears in Ibn Sibāṭ, to mean *ṣulḥ* (reconciliation). Instead, he used the term *ṣulḥ*, correcting the vocabulary to go with the wrong interpretation of Ibn Sibāṭ's text.

(3) Shidyāq, *op. cit.*, p. 261-262. Note that Shidyāq followed Duwayhī in giving the wrong date (1307) to the event.

and for the subsequent expedition against Kisrawān (1). He also followed Duwayhī in assuming that the purpose of the visits of Ibn ʻAdnān and Ibn Taymiyya was to reconcile the Kisrawānīs with the Buḥturid emirs (2). Duwayhī had not pointed out why such a reconciliation was necessary; so Shidyāq presumed that the Buḥturids had been on bad terms with the Kisrawānīs because two Buḥturid emirs had lost their lives at the battle of Jubayl (the expedition of 1292). Actually, these two emirs (Najm ad-Dīn Muḥammad II and Shihāb ad-Dīn Aḥmad, the sons of Ḥajjī II) were killed in 1305, not in 1292, Duwayhī alone having said that they were slain by the Jirdīs and Kisrawānīs in a raid on the Gharb which followed the first expedition (3). Ibn Sibāṭ, a main source of Shidyāq, had mentioned the death of the two sons of Ḥajjī in the expedition of 1305, but Shidyāq here ignored his account and followed Duwayhī. It is interesting to note here that, like Duwayhī and the other Maronite historians, Shidyāq did not understand the real causes and significance of the 1305 expedition.

One detail connected with this expedition is mentioned by Shidyāq alone. In 1304, he said, when the *sharīf* Zayn ad-Dīn Muḥammad ibn ʻAdnān al-Ḥusaynī came to Lebanon, he stayed with the Arslānid emir Sayf ad-Dīn Mufarrij, to whom he later gave his daughter Nafīsa in marriage (4). It is important to note that Shidyāq gave here the full name of the *sharīf*, whereas elsewhere he simply called him Zayn ad-Dīn ibn ʻAdnān. Neither Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā, Ibn Sibāṭ, nor Duwayhī had given his name in full, which again indicates the use of another source by Shidyāq —the presumed Arslān family history.

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(1) *Cf.* Duwayhī, *TA*, p. 163; also above, p. 117 *et seq.* Shidyāq seems to have depended almost entirely on *Tārīkh al-azmina* for his account of this expedition.

(2) See above, p. 117.

(3) See above, p. 116-117. See also Duwayhī, *TA*, p. 160.

(4) Shidyāq, *op. cit.*, p. 719-720.

Shidyāq devoted two separate chapters to the genealogy and the history of the Turkomans of Kisrawān, later known as the 'Assāfs. These Turkomans, he said, were transferred by an-Nāṣir Muḥammad (1) from al-Kūra to Kisrawān (2), where they settled in the villages of Zūq al-'Āmiriyya, Zūq al-Kharāb, Zūq Maṣbaḥ, Zūq Mikhāyīl, 'Ayn Ṭūrā, and 'Ayn Shiqqayq. In 1345, he continued, Yilbughā al-Atābikī ordered them to move to Beirut and assist the *jund* of Damascus in defending the city against the Franks (3). Shidyāq, however, only gave their genealogy starting with Emir 'Assāf, who lived in the early years of Ottoman rule (4).

Shidyāq next related the *rawk* of 1313 (5). In that year,

(1) Elsewhere (*ibid.*, p. 262), he said that they were settled in Kisrawān by Āqqūsh al-Afram following the expedition of 1305. See above, p. 120-121; *Cf.* ṢĀLIḤ IBN YAḤYĀ, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

(2) SHIDYĀQ, *op. cit.*, p. 396. It is not clear where Shidyāq got his information from when he said that the Turkomans were originally settled in al-Kūra.

(3) SHIDYĀQ, *loc. cit.*; DUWAYHĪ, *TA*, p. 177-178. See above, p. 123. Shidyāq followed Duwayhī in relating the event under the wrong date. This event must have taken place in 1365 when Yilbughā began his project of ship-building in Beirut, following the Cypriot naval raid upon Alexandria.

(4) SHIDYĀQ, *op. cit.*, p. 209, 396.

(5) See above, p. 121. Maqrīzī mentioned the *rawk* of 713 A.H. (1313 A.D.) in Syria, saying that it ended in the month of Dhū'l-Ḥijja (March-April, 1314 A.D.). The emirs and *jund* of Damascus received new deeds (*mithālāt*), the *iqṭā'* of the *niyāba* (governor's office) of Damascus was increased, and several *iqṭā'āt* were taken over by the *dīwān al-khāṣṣ* (the office which administered the sultan's own domain). See MAQRĪZĪ, *Sulūk*..., II, p. 127. A. N. POLIAK (*op. cit.*, p. 23-25) comments as follows: "The sultans struggled to make the fief-holders more and more dependent on the central government. At the beginning of the Mamlūk epoch we still find the influence of the Latin and Ayyūbīd feudal systems, which made the fief-holders hereditary rulers of their respective regions. The means employed by the sultans to put an end to it was the *rawk*, i.e. redistribution of lands between the sultan and the feudatories.... The idea was of Mongol origin, but the details of its execution were copied from the annual redivision of lands among the members of the village community. A speedy cadastral survey (*kashf al-bilād*) was made; then the estates were divided into royal and feudal; the feudal lands were redivided into the necessary number of fiefs of various grades, and the fiefs of each grade were redistributed by a drawing

he said, the *nāẓir al-jaysh* Mu'īn ad-Dīn (1) came to Damascus bringing with him the *iqṭā'āt* which he distributed among the *jund* of Syria. Each took what was allotted to him; and the Buḥturids received new *iqṭā'*, in addition to what they already held (2). Shidyāq did not differ from Ibn Sibāṭ and Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā in his account of the changes in the Buḥturid *iqṭā'* after 1313 (3). The *rawk*, he said, had originally changed this *iqṭā'* (4), and so caused much distress to the Buḥturids; but Nāṣir ad-Dīn al-Ḥusayn, a nephew of Ḥajjī II, was quick to write to Tankīz, the *nā'ib* of Damascus, pleading the family case. He explained that he and the other Buḥturid emirs who guarded the *thaghr* of Beirut had always

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of lots among the knights and emirs of that grade.... [In *al-rawk al-nāṣirī* in Syria, Palestine, and the Lebanon in 1313] the domains of *al-khāṣṣ* in Syria and in Palestine were... enlarged... by the addition of the fertile plain of Damascus and of the villages which were employed as stations of post-horses on the route from Damascus to Egypt. Even more important was the fact that the feudatories received now new fiefs consisting of small portions dispersed in various places, where the lords, moreover, were strangers." Poliak referred to Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā, to Maqrīzī, to IBN ḤAJAR (*op. cit.*, II, p. 171), to IBN IYĀS (*op. cit.*, I, p. 159), to K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN (*Beiträge...*, p. 160), and to DHAHABĪ (*Duwal al-Islām*, II, p. 170).

(1) The *nāẓir al-jaysh*, under the Mamluks, was responsible for the allotment and the control of *iqṭā'* in Syria and Egypt. M. GAUDEFROY-DESMOMBYNES, *La Syrie...*, p. lxxii. Mu'īn ad-Dīn ibn Mas'ūd ibn Abū'l-Faḍā'il Ibn Ḥashīsh was born in 666 A.H. (1267-1268 A.D.) and died in 729 A.H. (1328-1329 A.D.). He was appointed *nāẓir al-jaysh* in Damascus in 712 A.H. and assisted Sanjar ibn 'Abdallāh al-Jāwlī in the Syrian *rawk* (Sanjar al-Jāwlī was governor general of Gaza; see Gaston WIET, *op. cit.*, p. 157, No. 1102). Previously, in 709 A.H., he had been appointed head of *dīwān al-jaysh* in Egypt. See IBN ḤAJAR, *Ad-durar al-kāmina...*, II, p. 171; IV, p. 403; Gaston WIET, *op. cit.*, p. 391, No. 2605. See also MAQRĪZĪ, *loc. cit.*

(2) SHIDYĀQ, *op. cit.*, p. 281. *Cf.* ṢĀLIḤ IBN YAḤYĀ, *op. cit.*, p. 89-94; IBN SIBĀṬ, *op. cit.*, p. 245-248. Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā did not give the name of the *nāẓir al-jaysh*. Ibn Sibāṭ referred to him simply by his *laqab* Mu'īn ad-Dīn, and so did Shidyāq.

(3) See the previous footnote.

(4) ṢĀLIḤ IBN YAḤYĀ, *op. cit.*, p. 89.

held their *iqṭā'* as private property (1). It was unfair to include this property in the *rawk*, for it was the home territory of the Buḥturid emirs, their men, and their clan, and they could make use of no other property. The emirs, he argued, were saving the State much expense by having their own men assist them in guarding the *thaghr* of Beirut (2). The plea of Nāṣir ad-Dīn had its effect. Tankīz explained the special case of the Buḥturid *iqṭā'* to an-Nāṣir Muḥammad, and the Sultan allowed the Buḥturids to keep their old *iqṭā'*. It was also arranged that an increase in the *iqṭā'* of an emir would be balanced by an increase in the number of his *jund*. Since the *iqṭā'* of the Buḥturids was doubled in size, the number of their *jund* was increased from 31 to 62 (3).

Shidyāq reproduced from Ibn Sibāṭ (4) the *iqṭā'* register for the district of the Gharb issued by the *dīwān al-jaysh* on Muḥarram 8, 714 A.H. (April 25, 1314 A.D.) (5). The register names the emirs who received *iqṭā'*, enumerates their fiefs, and fixes the number of *jund* (*ṭawāshiyya*) (6) for each emir. The following emirs are listed:

1. Nāṣir ad-Dīn al-Ḥusayn ibn Khiḍr (20 *jund*)
2. 'Izz ad-Dīn al-Ḥasan ibn Khiḍr (5 *jund*)
3. 'Izz ad-Dīn Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī ibn Zayn ad-Dīn Ṣāliḥ (10 *jund*)
4. Sayf ad-Dīn Mufarrij ibn Yūsuf ibn Ṣāliḥ (10 *jund*)

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(1) See above, p. 220, fn. 5, quoting A. N. Poliak.

(2) Shidyāq, *op. cit.*, p. 282. *Cf.* Ibn Sibāṭ, *op. cit.*, p. 246-247; Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā, *op. cit.*, p. 91-92.

(3) Shidyāq, *loc. cit.*; Ibn Sibāṭ, *op. cit.*, p. 247-248; Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā, *op. cit.*, p. 92.

(4) Shidyāq, *op. cit.*, p. 282-284; Ibn Sibāṭ, *op. cit.*, p. 247-249. *Cf.* Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā, *op. cit.*, p. 92-94.

(5) Shidyāq, relating the events of 1313, gave the date only as Muḥarram 8. The full date is found in Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā, *op. cit.*, p. 94, and Ibn Sibāṭ, *op. cit.*, p. 249.

(6) The *ṭawāshiyya* were the private *mamālīk* of the *jund al-ḥalqa* and the emirs. See A. N. Poliak, *op. cit.*, p. 3, fn. 4.

5. ʿAlam ad-Dīn Sulaymān ibn Ghallāb (1) (5 *jund*)
6. Sayf ad-Dīn Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad ibn Ḥajjī [II] (5 *jund*)
7. Sayf ad-Dīn ʿAbdallāh ibn Ḥajjī (4 *jund*)
8. ʿImād ad-Dīn Mūsā ibn Masʿūd ibn Abū'l-Jaysh (2) (3 *jund*)

According to this register a total of 62 *jund* was to be provided by the emirs of the Gharb of whom only the last mentioned, listed with three *jund*, was an Abū'l-Jaysh. Excepting ʿAlam ad-Dīn Sulaymān ibn Ghallāb, all the rest were Buḥturids. Shidyāq added here that the emirs of the Gharb divided themselves into three relays (*abdāl*, sing. *badal*) which guarded the *thaghr* of Beirut in turn. The first *badal* included Nāṣir ad-Dīn al-Ḥusayn, his brother al-Ḥasan, and his cousin Shams ad-Dīn ʿAbdallāh. The second was composed of Sayf ad-Dīn Mufarrij, ʿIzz ad-Dīn Ḥusayn, and ʿAlam ad-Dīn Sulaymān. Nāṣir ad-Dīn ibn Saʿdān, another descendant of Abū'l-Jaysh (3) who is not mentioned in the above register, headed the third *badal* which included his two sons, ʿImād ad-Dīn Mūsā ibn Masʿūd, and a Buḥturid emir Sayf ad-Dīn Ibrāhīm. To keep a

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(1) According to Shidyāq (*op. cit.*, p. 132). This ʿAlam ad-Dīn Sulaymān was the ancestor of the ʿAlam ad-Dīns who were responsible for the extermination of the Buḥturids in 1633. According to Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā (genealogical tree facing p. 40, and p. 158), he belonged to a branch of the Tanūkhs settled in Lebanon. Shidyāq accepted that. A. N. Poliak (*op. cit.*, p. 13, fn. 1) doubts that the ʿAlam ad-Dīns were descended from ʿAlam ad-Dīn Sulaymān (known as ar-Ramṭūnī), and that this ʿAlam ad-Dīn was a cousin of the Buḥturids. He suggests that the Ramṭūnīs (from Ramṭūn, a village in the Shaḥḥār) were a separate family. I have not found any conclusive evidence to disprove what Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā and Shidyāq held regarding this question. Poliak refers to Ibn Ḥajar (*Ad-durar...*, I, p. 540-541) and *Manhal...* (Gaston Wiet, *op. cit.*, p. 125, No. 856) for incomplete genealogies of Sulaymān which differ slightly from that given by Ṣāliḥ. His conclusion may have been a hasty one.

(2) This ʿImād ad-Dīn Mūsā is the only Abū'l-Jaysh emir mentioned in the register.

(3) Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā, *op. cit.*, p. 84, 96, 98. See above, p. 195.

balance in number between those three relays, five of the *jund* of Nāṣir ad-Dīn al-Ḥusayn served with the third *badal* (1).

Like Duwayhī, Shidyāq mentioned the Genoese naval raid upon Beirut in 1333 (2), and the raid of Ibn Ṣubḥ upon Wādī at-Taym for which he assigned the date 1341 (3). He also followed Duwayhī when he assigned the date 1345 for the Mamluk refortification of Beirut in 1365 (4) ; but he added here that the Arslāns were also ordered to move to Beirut and assume military duties there, alongside the Buḥturids and the Turkomans of Kisrawān (5).

In 1349, Shidyāq continued, Zayn ad-Dīn Ṣāliḥ, the son of Nāṣir ad-Dīn al-Ḥusayn of the Buḥturs, received instructions from Damascus (6) to hold the coastal road at Nahr al-Kalb against

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(1) Shidyāq, *op. cit.*, p. 284. *Cf.* Ibn Sibāṭ, *op. cit.*, p. 249-250; Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā, *op. cit.*, p. 96-98. A.N. Poliak (*op. cit.*, p. 27, fn. 2), depending on a list of the *mamālīk* serving as *jund* under the emirs of the Gharb (Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā, *op. cit.*, p. 97-98), concluded that "the more influential chieftains used to receive the humbler ones into their service as mamluks." Thus, descendants of Abū'l-Jaysh (like Mūsā ibn Mas'ūd, who received *iqṭā'* in 1314 as an emir of three, see *ibid.*, p. 98) came to serve as *jund* under the command of Buḥturid emirs.

(2) Shidyāq, *op.cit.*, p. 285. See above, p. 122.

(3) Shidyāq, *op.cit.*, p. 48-49. *Cf.* Shihābī, *Al-ghurar al-ḥisān...*, p. 490, 493. See also above, p. 122-123

(4) Shidyāq, *op.cit.*, p. 285-286, 396. See above, p. 123.

(5) Shidyāq, *op.cit.*, p. 720.

(6) The letter, according to Shidyāq, was sent by the emirs Mas'ūd ibn al-Ḥuẓayrī, Baydamur (Ṭaydamur) al-Ḥājib, Yilbughā, and Malik Āṣ (Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā, *op.cit.*, p. 167). Mas'ūd ibn al-Ḥuẓayrī (or ibn al-Ḥuẓayr, as Ibn Ḥajar called him) was born in 683 A.H. (1284 A.D.) and died in 754 (1353). He held the *niyābāt* of Gaza and Tripoli several times, and took charge of the *niyāba* of Damascus between the murder of Arghūnshāh and the arrival of his successor (Ibn Ḥajar, *Ad-durar al-kāmina...*, IV, p. 348). Ṭaydamur al-Ḥājib al-Ismā'īlī, once an emir in Aleppo, was *ḥājib* (chamberlain) in Damascus under Arghūnshāh (*ibid.*, II, p. 232). Yilbughā (in Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā, Iljibughā) must have been Iljibughā al-'Ādilī, an emir of Damascus under the *nā'ib* Tankīz (1322-1340). He remained an important emir there until 1353, and held

the *nā'ib* of Tripoli Iljibughā al-Muẓaffarī (1) and the emir Timurbughā Minṭāsh (2), who were to be arrested. The Buḥturid emir followed his instructions, forcing the rebel *nā'ib* of Tripoli to take a different road (3). Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā related this story in more detail (4). On Thursday evening, Rabī' I 23, 750 A.H. (June 11, 1349 A.D.), he said, the *nā'ib* of Tripoli Iljibughā al-Muẓaffarī arrived in Damascus with a forged warrant for the arrest and

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the *niyāba* of Damascus during the absence of its *nā'ib* Arghūn al-Kāmilī in 1350 (*ibid.*, I, p. 406). Malik Āṣ was another important emir in Damascus and held, among other positions, the *shadd ad-dawāwīn* (head secretariat) in that province. He died in 756 A.H. / 1355 A.D. (*ibid.*, IV, p. 357). For Arghūnshāh, see the following footnote.

(1) Gaston Wiet, *op.cit.*, p. 75, No. 522. Iljibughā al-Muẓaffarī was an emir of high rank under the sultan al-Muẓaffar Ḥajjī (1347-1351). A disagreement with other emirs in Egypt led to his transfer to Damascus; and he was finally appointed *nā'ib* of Tripoli in 1348. In the following year, while still *nā'ib* of Tripoli, he went to Damascus, killed its *nā'ib* Arghūnshāh (748-750 A.H. / 1347-1349 A.D.), and produced a forged *marsūm* for the confiscation of his wealth. Iljibughā, however, was defeated in battle by the emirs of Damascus, and he returned to Tripoli with only a part of the wealth of Arghūnshāh. On hearing of this the Sultan insisted on his arrest, and he was sent as a prisoner to Cairo where he died on the pale in Rabī' II 750 (June-July 1349). Ibn Ḥajar, *Ad-durar al-kāmina...*, I, p. 406. For Arghūnshāh, see H. Laoust, *Les gouverneurs de Damas...*, p. 11. Ibn Iyās said that Iljibughā came to Damascus, arrested Arghūnshāh, and produced the forged *marsūm* from the Sultan to justify this action. Later, Arghūnshāh was found murdered in prison, and it was not known who killed him. Ibn Iyās added that the *'askar* of Damascus went to Tripoli, defeated Iljibughā in battle, and brought him back a prisoner to Damascus where he was hanged. See Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' az-zuhūr...*, I, p. 192-193.

(2) See above, p. 125, fn. 4. Minṭāsh, who played an important part in the dethronement of Barqūq (1389-1390), had nothing to do with this event. Shidyāq confused between his rebellion at Malaṭiya in 1389 (see above) and the rebellion of Iljibughā al-Muẓaffarī. Actually, the fellow-conspirator of Iljibughā against Arghūnshāh was Sayf ad-Dīn Mankalībughā al-Fakhrī, who was *nā'ib* of Tripoli before Iljibughā (?). See Gaston Wiet, *op.cit.*, p. 382, No. 2541; H. Laoust, *op.cit.*, p. 11.

(3) Shidyāq, *op.cit.*, p. 286.

(4) Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā, *op.cit.*, p. 167.

execution of Arghūnshāh, the *nā'ib* of Damascus. Arghūnshāh was, accordingly, put to death; and Iljibughā returned to Tripoli and rebelled. The emirs of Damascus soon realized that the warrant on which the *nā'ib* of Tripoli had acted was a forgery; and when they heard of his intention to advance from Tripoli along the coast, they sent a *marsūm* instructing Zayn ad-Dīn Ṣāliḥ to hold the road against him at Nahr al-Kalb, which he did. Iljibughā was finally arrested by the *'askar* of Damascus and died on the pale (*wussiṭa*) (1).

In his chapter on the Arslāns, Shidyāq noted that the Arslānid emir Nūr ad-Dīn Ṣāliḥ, the son of Mufarrij, was among the emirs ordered to hold the coastal road against Iljibughā (2).

Shidyāq mentioned the death of Nāṣir ad-Dīn al-Ḥusayn in 1350 (3). It was he, he added, who established the house of Buḥtur in its position of leadership. In Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā, the date of the emir's death is given as Shawwāl 13, 751 A.H. (December 14, 1350 A.D.) (4). Earlier, in 1348, Nāṣir ad-Dīn al-Ḥusayn had given up his command and *iqṭā'* to his eldest son Zayn ad-Dīn Ṣāliḥ, who succeeded him as paramount chieftain of the Gharb (5). This explains why it was Zayn ad-Dīn Ṣāliḥ and not his father who was asked to help in the arrest of Iljibughā in 1349.

Shidyāq resumed the history of the Buḥturids with the events of 1373 (actually 1365-1366):

> In 1373, when Emir Yilbughā al-Atābikī (6) sent Emir Baydamur al-Khwārizmī (7) to Beirut, the Turkomans of Kisrawān approached him and offered to send a thousand men to Cyprus for the war. [In return], they asked for a letter to take to Yilbughā, so that some of them would go to Egypt and take over the *iqṭā'* of the emirs of the Gharb. When Emir Sa'd ad-Dīn Khiḍr ibn al-

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(1) See above, p. 225, fn. 1.

(2) Shidyāq, *op.cit.*, p. 720.

(3) *Ibid.*, p. 286.

(4) Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā, *op.cit.*, p. 129.

(5) *Ibid.*, p. 130; Ibn Ḥajar, *Ad-durar al-kāmina...*, II, p. 55.

(6) See above, p. 123, fn. 4. Yilbughā al-Atābikī was killed in 1366.

(7) See above, p. 123, fn. 2.

Ḥasan ibn Khiḍr and Emir Sayf ad-Dīn Yaḥyā ibn Ṣāliḥ [ibn al-Ḥusayn] (1) heard of this, they preceded them to Egypt. Then the Turkomans arrived, and Yilbughā gave them the titles (*mithālāt*) for the *iqṭā*ʻ of the emirs of the Gharb. So the two [Buḥturid] emirs explained their case to the *qāḍī* ʻAlā' ad-Dīn, the *kātim as-sirr* (2). [The latter] pleaded for them before Yilbughā...; and Yilbughā decreed that the titles of the Turkomans be destroyed and that the emirs of the Gharb be reconfirmed in their *iqṭā*ʻ (3).

According to Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā, these events took place in 767 A.H. (1365-1366 A.D.), following the Cypriot raid upon Alexandria, when Yilbughā sent Baydamur al-Khwārizmī to Beirut to build ships there and send them to Cyprus. The rest of the story, as told by Ṣāliḥ, does not differ from the version of Shidyāq (4). The Turkomans, he said, had previously attempted to take over the Buḥturid *iqṭā*ʻ in 1361 and succeeded in doing so for a very short time (5).

After relating an unsuccessful Genoese attack on Beirut in 1382, which Sayf ad-Dīn Yaḥyā (the father of Ṣāliḥ) helped fight

(1) The father of the historian Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā. Yaḥyā's father Ṣāliḥ, who died two years later (1375), had retired from the service in 1373, leaving his *iqṭā*ʻ and command to his son, as his father Nāṣir ad-Dīn al-Ḥusayn had done in 1348. See Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā, *op.cit.*, p. 166. This is probably why Shidyāq related the event under 1373 instead of 1365. It was Yaḥyā, not his father Ṣāliḥ, who travelled to Egypt in 1365 to settle the question of the family *iqṭā*ʻ; so Shidyāq concluded that the event took place after Yaḥyā had taken over the command of the Gharb from his father in 1373.

(2) Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā called him ʻAlā' ad-Dīn ibn Faḍl-Allāh. ʻAlā' ad-Dīn Abū'l-Ḥasan ʻAlī ibn Yaḥya ibn Faḍl-Allāh al-Qurashī al-ʻAdawī al-ʻUmarī (d.1368), like other members of his family in Cairo and Damascus during the fourteenth century, held the post of *kātim as-sirr* or *kātib as-sirr* (secretary of the chancery) in Egypt. See Gaston Wiet, *op.cit.*, p. 217, No. 1481; p. 248, No. 1692. For the office see M. Gaudefroy-Desmombynes, *La Syrie...*, p. lxix; *loc.cit.*, fn. 2. The *kātim as-sirr* held the most important position in the wazirate.

(3) Shidyāq, *op.cit.*, p. 287-288.

(4) Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā, *op.cit.*, p. 168. These events took place in the days of Ṣāliḥ's father Sayf ad-Dīn Yaḥyā and his grandfather Zayn ad-Dīn Ṣāliḥ. See above, fn. 1.

(5) Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā, *op.cit.*, p. 177.

back (1), Shidyāq proceeded with the events which took place in Lebanon in connection with the overthrow of Barqūq and his return to the throne (2) — events which have already been discussed (3). According to Shidyāq, the Arslāns fought with the Buḥturids on the side of aẓ-Ẓāhir Barqūq (4). When the Gharb was sacked and burnt by the Turkomans of Kisrawān and their allies in 1388 (actually 1390), eleven emirs of the house of Abū'l-Jaysh were killed (5). Only one survived, Sayf ad-Dīn Yaḥyā ibn Nūr ad-Dīn Ṣāliḥ ibn Mufarrij. This emir continued to support Barqūq, who later granted him a considerable *iqṭā'* in compensation.

In 1413, during the reign of al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh (1412-1421), the Franks of Cyprus raided Dāmūr (6). Emir Sayf ad-

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(1) Shidyāq, *op.cit.*, p. 289-290. *Cf.* Ibn Sibāṭ, *op.cit.*, p. 310-311; Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā, *op.cit.*, p. 35-36.

(2) Shidyāq, *op.cit.*, p. 263-264, 290-291, 721-723.

(3) See above, p. 124 *et seq.*

(4) Shidyāq, *op.cit.*, p. 721-723.

(5) Shidyāq listed the Arslān emirs killed in 1388 (1390): Nūr ad-Dīn Ṣāliḥ ibn Mufarrij ibn Yūsuf; his son Tāj ad-Dīn Dāwūd; Jamāl ad-Dīn 'Abd-allāh ibn 'Uthmān ibn Najā and his son Shujā' ad-Dīn 'Ammār; 'Izz ad-Dīn Ḥamdān ibn Najā; Nāṣir ad-Dīn Bashīr ibn Yūsuf ibn 'Alī; Shihāb ad-Dīn Aḥmad ibn Mas'ūd ibn 'Uthmān; 'Imād ad-Dīn Mūsā ibn Mas'ūd ibn Abū'l-Jaysh and his son Fayḍ ad-Dīn 'Umar; Nāhiḍ ad-Dīn Abū'l-Maḥāsin ibn Darwīsh ibn 'Uthmān; Quṭb ad-Dīn Khuzā'a ibn Mas'ūd ibn 'Uthmān and his brother Najm ad-Dīn As'ad. Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā (*op.cit.*, p. 197) only mentioned 'Imād ad-Dīn Mūsā ibn Ḥassān ibn Arslān (not ibn Mas'ūd ibn Abū'l-Jaysh) among the Abū'l-Jaysh emirs killed at the time.

(6) "From 1404 until 1414, say the chroniclers [Machaeras, p. 636; Strambaldi, p. 264; Amadi, p. 498; Fl. Bustron, p. 356], the Sultan, who was on bad terms with the Emirs of Damascus, Tripoli, and Aleppo, had to endure constant raiding of his coasts by the King's [Janus of Cyprus, 1398-1432] fleet, which included a number of Catalans. The Cypriotes grew rich on the booty and the slaves which these raiders brought home.... In 1414 the Sultan, Sheikh al-Muayyad, sought to put an end to these futile hostilities. He communicated with the King . . . and peace was proclaimed on 24 November 1414." G. Hill, *A history of Cyprus*, II, p. 469. Hill added (*ibid.*, fn. 3), referring to Schefer

Dīn Yaḥyā of the Arslāns, said Shidyāq, advanced with his men to their encounter, holding them up along the coast until the Sultan set out from Damascus (1) to fight them back. Hearing of the Sultan's advance, the Emir went to the Biqā' to meet him, leaving his son Jamāl ad-Dīn 'Abdallāh to lead the defence. The Sultan was the guest of Emir Yaḥyā in Shwayfāt for three days, after which they advanced together against the Franks and forced them to retreat by sea. The Emir then accompanied the Sultan back as far as the Biqā'. Before the Sultan returned home, Shidyāq continued, he bestowed on Emir Yaḥyā a robe of honour (*khil'a*) and the honorary title of *malik al-umarā'*, and placed all the coastal districts under his control (*wa ḍamma ilayhi jamī' al-wilāyāt as-sāḥiliyya*). The Emir died in 1424 (2) in Shwayfāt, aged 58, leaving three sons: Jamāl ad-Dīn 'Abdallāh, Ṣalāḥ ad-Dīn (or Sayf ad-Dīn) Mufarrij, and Fakhr ad-Dīn 'Uthmān (3).

Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā made no mention of the Dāmūr raid of 1413 which took place in his days, probably because no member of his family was connected with it. Ibn Sibāṭ mentioned it without giving a date, placing it between the events of 816 A.H. and those of 824 A.H. (1413-1421 A.D.), during the reign of al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh (4). He related the incident very briefly, without mentioning the role played by Emir Yaḥyā of the Arslāns.

In the days of [al-Malik al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh] the Franks made an attack;

(*Bertr. de la Broquière*, p. xxxvi), that in 1413 an expedition organized in Cyprus landed between Beirut and Sidon at the mouth of Nahr ad-Dāmūr, but was repulsed.

(1) Al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh left Cairo for Damascus on Muḥarram 4, 817 (March 26, 1414). H. Laoust, *Les gouverneurs de Damas...*, p. 19. See also Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujum...* (Popper), VI, p. 335. Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā (*op.cit.*, p. 217-218) gave the date as the end of Dhū'l-Qa'da, 816 (c. February 21, 1414).

(2) The date appears as 1324, the third digit being obviously a misprint.

(3) Shidyāq, *op.cit.*, p. 723-724.

(4) Ibn Sibāṭ, *op.cit.*, p. 333. I have found no mention of this event in the other Arabic chronicles which I consulted (Ibn Taghrībirdī, Ibn Ḥajar, Zetterstéen (*Beiträge...*), Ibn Ṭūlūn, and Ibn Iyās).

and [the Sultan] advanced and fought them at a place called Dāmūr, between Sidon and Beirut, and defeated them.

Duwayhī repeated Ibn Sibāṭ's brief account of the event with no additions (1).

In 1424, Shidyāq continued, Sultan Barsbāy (1422-1438) began preparing for the conquest of Cyprus (2). The emirs of the Gharb were instructed to join the expedition; and Emir Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā, the historian, joined with a hundred men. The expedition was a success; and when it was over the Mamluk fleet proceeded to Egypt, where the Sultan presented Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā with 200 dinars and a *khil'ā*. Ṣāliḥ stayed in Egypt for a while, then returned to his country by way of Damascus (3). Shidyāq relied here on Ibn Sibāṭ who gave the date simply as 828 A.H. (1424-1425 A.D.) (4). Actually the expedition set out from Tripoli on Ramaḍān 14, 828 (July 30, 1425) (5). Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā, who gave an eyewitness account of it, said that he was in charge of an old galley (*ghurāb*) (6) manned by approximately 100 sailors and fighters (7).

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(1) Duwayhī, *TA*, p. 201.

(2) For the Mamluk conquest of Cyprus see M. Mustafa Ziada, "The Mamluk conquest of Cyprus in the fifteenth century," in the *Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts, Egyptian University*, I (1933), p. 90-113. See also G. Hill, *A History of Cyprus*, II, p. 470 *et seq.* Shidyāq was not referring here to Barsbāy's first expedition against Cyprus (August 1424), but to the second expedition which was on a much larger scale and which set out from Tripoli, where the Egyptian fleet was joined by the Syrian contingent, on July 30, 1425. Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā, who took part in the expedition, gave a first-hand account of it (see below).

(3) Shidyāq, *op.cit.*, p. 292-293. *Cf.* Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā, *op.cit.*, p. 219-225.

(4) Ibn Sibāṭ, *op.cit.*, p. 337-339.

(5) Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā, *op.cit.*, p. 222. See also above, fn. 2.

(6) See Quatremère, *op.cit.*, I, i, p. 142, n. 15. The *shīnī* or *shānī* (pl. *shawānī*), also known as *ghurāb* (pl. *aghriba*) is a galley. "It is rowed with 140 oars, and in it there are the fighters and the rowers," quoting Vat. arab. 267, fol. 82.

(7) Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā, *op.cit.*, p. 221.

Shidyāq related under the year 1444 the raid of Emir Ḥajj ibn al-Ḥamrā (1) upon the house of the Buḥturid emir ʿIzz ad-Dīn Ṣadaqa in Beirut. He also mentioned that Ṣadaqa died in that year (2). Ibn Sibāṭ had only mentioned 1444 as the date of the Emir's death (3), and included an account of the raid of Emir Ḥajj upon Ṣadaqa's house among the events of the Emir's life (4). It appears from Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā that the raid took place in 1425, during Ṣāliḥ's absence in Cyprus. Ṣāliḥ said that he heard of it when he arrived in Damascus on his way back from Egypt, on Dhū'l-Qaʿda 24, 828 A.H. (October 7, 1425 A.D.). He also explained that he had to return to the Gharb by way of Wādī at-Taym because he was afraid that Emir Ḥajj and his men would attack him in the Biqāʿ (5).

After mentioning the death of Ṣadaqa in 1444, Shidyāq added that his *wilāya* extended from the frontiers of the *niyāba* of Tripoli to those of the *niyāba* of Ṣafad, and that he was in charge of the *darak* of Beirut. He identified him as the great-great-grandson of Nāṣir ad-Dīn al-Ḥusayn (6). Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā called him the *mutawallī* (governor) of Beirut (7).

Shidyāq did not relate any other events of importance in the history of the feudal families of the Gharb and the Turkomans of Kisrawān before the Ottoman conquest, apart from giving the names, genealogical connections, and obituary dates of the emirs in question. It must be remembered here that Shidyāq also dealt with the history of the Shihābs and the Maʿns in the Crusader and

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(1) The Banū al-Ḥamrā were semi-Bedouin fief-holders in the Biqāʿ during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. See A. N. Poliak, *Feudalism...*, p. 12-13, depending upon Shidyāq and upon Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā, *op.cit.*, p. 111, 154, 184, 225-226, 231.

(2) Shidyāq, *op.cit.*, p. 293.

(3) Ibn Sibāṭ, *op.cit.*, p. 343.

(4) Ibn Sibāṭ, *op.cit.*, p. 343-345.

(5) Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā, *op.cit.*, p. 225-226.

(6) Shidyāq, *op.cit.*, p. 293.

(7) Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā, *op.cit.*, p. 226.

Mamluk periods. Of these two families the Shihābs were still in Wādī at-Taym, not yet in Mount Lebanon. The settlement of the Ma'ns in the Shūf has already been considered. They do not seem to have played a role of importance during the Crusader and Mamluk periods (1). It is with Fakhr ad-Dīn 'Uthmān, who became *wālī* of the Shūf towards the end of the fifteenth century, that the rise of Ma'nid power in Lebanon began. His arrest and release by the *nā'ib* of Damascus in 1505 has already been discussed (2).

Although written towards the middle of the nineteenth century, *Akhbār al-a'yān...* is an important source for the history of mediæval Lebanon. It is true that much of it repeats Ibn Sibāṭ who, in turn, had repeated Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā; but Shidyāq also depended on other sources which have apparently been lost. By so doing, he preserved information on the history of the period which adds to Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā and occasionally contradicts him. Shidyāq, in his history writing, was not personally biased towards or against any of the personalities and events he considered. He was essentially a compiler; and his history is an uncritical and confused collection of material from a number of sources to none of which he seems to have shown preference. Consequently, every section of *Akhbār al-a'yān...* reflects the bias (as well as the mistakes) of the source from which it was copied or adapted.

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(1) A. N. Poliak (*op.cit.*, p. 13, fn. 1) did not accept the tradition related by Shidyāq concerning the descent of the Ma'nids from a Bedouin emir who settled in the Shūf in 1120. He argued that Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā knew nothing about the Ma'nid emirs assigned by Shidyāq to the Mamluk period. Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā (*op.cit.*, p. 173; J. Sauvaget, "Corrections...", p. 78) had mentioned a certain "Fāris ad-Dīn Mi'ḍād ibn 'Izz ad-Dīn Faḍā'il ibn Mi'ḍād, *muqaddam* of the Shūf; and from this Poliak concluded that the chieftains of the Shūf during the Mamluk period were the Banū Mi'ḍād, not the Banū Ma'n. Poliak's conclusion here does not rest on a strong basis; and it is possible that there were more than one family of chieftains in the Shūf, as was the case in the Biqā' (A. N. Poliak, *op.cit.*, p. 12).

(2) See above, p. 128 *et seq.*

Shidyāq commended the Abū'l-Jaysh for their prowess when he relied on the Arslān family history; but he treated them with disfavour (along with the Turkomans of Kisrawān) when he copied Ibn Sibāṭ, who favoured the Buḥturids. Besides, Shidyāq did not try to interpret the material he compiled. His originality as a historian is only shown in the arrangement of the material in *Akhbār al-aʿyān...* (1), and in the fact that he was the first Lebanese to attempt a history of the whole of Lebanon from the time of the Arab conquest to his own day.

As a work of historiography, *Akhbār al-aʿyān...* is poor. It does not tell a consistent story. But the very fact that Shidyāq was an uncritical compiler makes his work an important source for the history of mediæval Lebanon. By bringing together the information collected from the different sources without attempting to sort out confusions and to correct or reconcile contradictions and inconsistencies, he preserved much of the original nature of his source material. It is for the historian today to sort out the material found in *Akhbār al-aʿyān...* according to its original sources, and so prepare it for analysis and use.

(1) See above, p. 169 *et seq.*

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

THE WRITINGS OF IBN AL-QILĀʻĪ

Notes on the list by Duwayhī *

a. G. Graf (*GCAL*, III, p. 313-315) lists two books on Church law by Ibn al-Qilāʻī. The first is *Nāmūs al-kanīsa al-muqaddasa al-anṭākiyya* (the law of the holy Church of Antioch: MSS Vat. arab. 639; Borg. arab. 137, f.98r-329r; ʻAyn Waraqa 29). The second, a condensation of the first, is *Nāmūs kanīsat Rūmiya* (the law of the Church of Rome: MS Vat. arab. 642). I found the eighth part of this book (*thāmin kitāb fī nāmūs kanīsat Rūmiya*) in MS Sharfeh 9/41, a selection of Ibn al-Qilāʻī's writings on theology and Church law entitled *Majmūʻa li Ibn al-Qilāʻī fī'l-lāhūt al-adabī.*

b. Ibn al-Qilāʻī's book of sermons, listed by Duwayhī as *Kitāb ʻiẓa*, seems to be the same as his *Kitāb al-mawāʻiẓ* (MS Vat. arab. 641, and an unnumbered MS in the monastery of Mār Shallīṭā Maqbis). G. Graf, *GCAL*, III, p. 322-323. I have examined the Vatican manuscript, which begins with a letter from Ibn al-Qilāʻī to the people of his hometown Liḥfid (dated December 12, 1493), followed by 50 sermons explaining passages from the Gospels and extolling virtue.

c. The book about the Popes of Rome, which Duwayhī listed, is probably the second part of *Mārūn aṭ-ṭūbānī* (*Thabāt aṣ-ṣidq*) which gives chronological lists of the Popes and of the Roman and Byzantine emperors. See above, p. 27-28.

d. Like the book about the Popes, Ibn al-Qilāʻī's "history of the kings of Rome" does not appear to be an independent work, but simply a section of *Thabāt aṣ-ṣidq.* See the preceding note.

e. Duwayhī was probably referring to the third part of *Mārūn aṭ-ṭūbānī* (*Jihād al-īmān*) when he listed Ibn al-Qilāʻī's "book about the belief of the Maronites and their union with the Church of Rome." *Jihād al-īmān* is actually no more than a list of heresies introduced with an anti-Jacobite polemic; but Duwayhī had described it elsewhere (*TTM*, p. 417-418) as a defence of the unbroken union of the Maronites with Rome.

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* See above, p. 31.

f. MS Vat. arab. 643 is a compendium of theology in six books (of which the third is missing) dealing with the Oneness of God and the Trinity, the Creation, the Incarnation of the Logos, virtue and vice, and the sacraments. G. Graf (*GCAL*, III, p. 312) believes that MSS Aleppo 127 (*Lāhūt Ibn al-Qilāʿī aw arkān dīn an-Naṣārā*) and 128 may be copies of the same work; but I have not been able to examine these manuscripts myself. The first part of MS Sharfeh 9/41, which lacks several pages at the beginning, appears from its contents to be a copy of the same work.

g. By the "book on the orthodox faith and the secret of the life of Christ" Duwayhī may have meant parts of Ibn al-Qilāʿī's book on theology. See the preceding note.

h. Only a few of Ibn al-Qilāʿī's numerous letters are still to be found. G. Graf (*GCAL*, III, p. 323-324) lists only nine:

i. A warning to the Maronites about Alīshāʿ of al-Ḥadath, Ibn Shaʿbān of Ḥardīn, and Samyā of Liḥfid, who were serving as Jacobite propagandists. Vat. arab. 640, f.203r-205v.

ii. The letter to Patriarch Shamʿūn dated November 6, 1494. See above, p. 27, fn. 3.

iii. The letter to the priest Jirjis ar-Rāmī. See above, p. 29-30.

iv. A letter to Dāwūd, the bishop of Liḥfid, dated December 23, 1495, which deals with the sacraments. Vat. arab. 640, f.194r-202v; Sharfeh syr. 7/10, 3·

v. A letter to the people of Liḥfid. Vat. arab. 644, f.182v-194v; Borg. arab. 136, f.148v-160r.

vi. A letter to a friend, exhorting him to be patient and forbearing. Vat. arab. 644, f.259v-262r; Borg. arab. 136, f.222v-224v.

vii. A letter of consolation to a sick brother, with twelve prayers. Borg. arab. 136, f.10v-13v.

viii. A letter to the Maronites on penitence. *Ibid.*, f.13v-30r.

ix. A letter to an unknown brother about Mount Lebanon, its past, and its future. *Ibid.*, f.225r-236v.*

i. Ṭūbiyyā al-ʿAnaysī (*Ḥurūb al-muqaddamīn*, Appendix I, p. 84) mentions that a *zajaliyya* about the Holy Trinity used to be available in a Vatican manuscript (Vat. syr. 249) which disappeared at the time of the Napoleonic occupation of Rome. G. Graf (*GCAL*, III, p. 312-313) describes this work as a "Traktat über die Dreifaltigkeit und die Einzigkeit Gottes" (*Cf.* note f), adding that MS Vat. syr. 249, which contains this "tract", has been missing since 1828. By the *madīḥa* about the Holy Trinity Duwayhī may have meant the one on the Trishagion (Vat. syr. 214). See G. Graf, *GCAL*, III, p. 331.

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* Borg. arab. 136, which contains most of these letters, was not available at the Vatican Library when I visited Rome, although I found it listed in the catalogue.

j. I found several copies of the *zajaliyya* about the life of Christ and of His Mother under the Cross at Bkerke in the manuscript medley numbered Bkerke 13. Also MS Bibliothèque Orientale 15, p. 112 *et seq.*; Vat. syr. 231, f.41r-42r. It was published in *al-Manāra*, III (1932), p. 269. G. Graf, *GCAL*, III, p. 332.

k. There is a *zajal* rendering by Ibn al-Qilāʿī of the Roman Catholic Creed in MS Sharfeh 9/41. Could this be the *zajaliyya* about *ʿilm al-īmān* listed by Duwayhī? G. Graf (*GCAL*, III, p. 331) mentions a poem about the Church and the orthodox faith from the lost MS Vat. syr. 249.

l. Several *zajaliyyāt* about the Apostles are to be found in MS Bkerke 13.

m. Ibn al-Qilāʿī's *zajal* history of Emperor Constantine, found in MSS Bibliothèque Orientale 15 and 16 and Bkerke 13 as well as in private collections, was published by Ibrāhīm Ḥarfūsh in *al-Manāra*, VII (1936), p. 653-663, 767-779.

n. Duwayhī quoted two sections from a poem by Ibn al-Qilāʿī which he called *mīmar ʿan al-majāmiʿ* (poem about the Councils; *TTM*, p. 78, 372). The first section quoted is about Patriarch Yūḥannā Mārūn, while the second deals with the Lateran Council of 1215. G. Graf does not know of a special *mīmar* about Yūḥannā Mārūn, nor have I been able to find such a poem.

o. I found two copies of *Madīḥat Mār Nuhrā* in MS Bkerke 13. See above, p. 24, fn. 3.

p. I found two copies of the *zajaliyya* about St. Georges of Lydda in MS Bkerke 13.

q. There is a *zajaliyya* about St. Simon Stylites (Mār Simʿān al-ʿĀmūdī) in MS Bkerke 13. I have found none about a St. Simon of Jubayl.

r. There is a *zajaliyya* about Mār Shīnā the Thief in MS Bkerke 13.

s. *Madīḥat Kisrawān* is the same as *Madīḥa ʿalā Jabal Lubnān*. See above, p. 33.

t. The *zajaliyya* about "those who intended to sow tares among the Maronites" is *Tabkīt kull man zāgh ʿan al-īmān*. See above, p. 28, fn. 2.

u. For the elegy of Ibn al-Qilāʿī on the drowning of his friend Yūḥannā, see above, p. 31, fn. 1.

v. The *zajaliyya* about the nun who renounces her orders, found in MS ʿAshqūt 9, was published in *al-Mashriq*, XVIII (1920), p. 751 *et seq.*

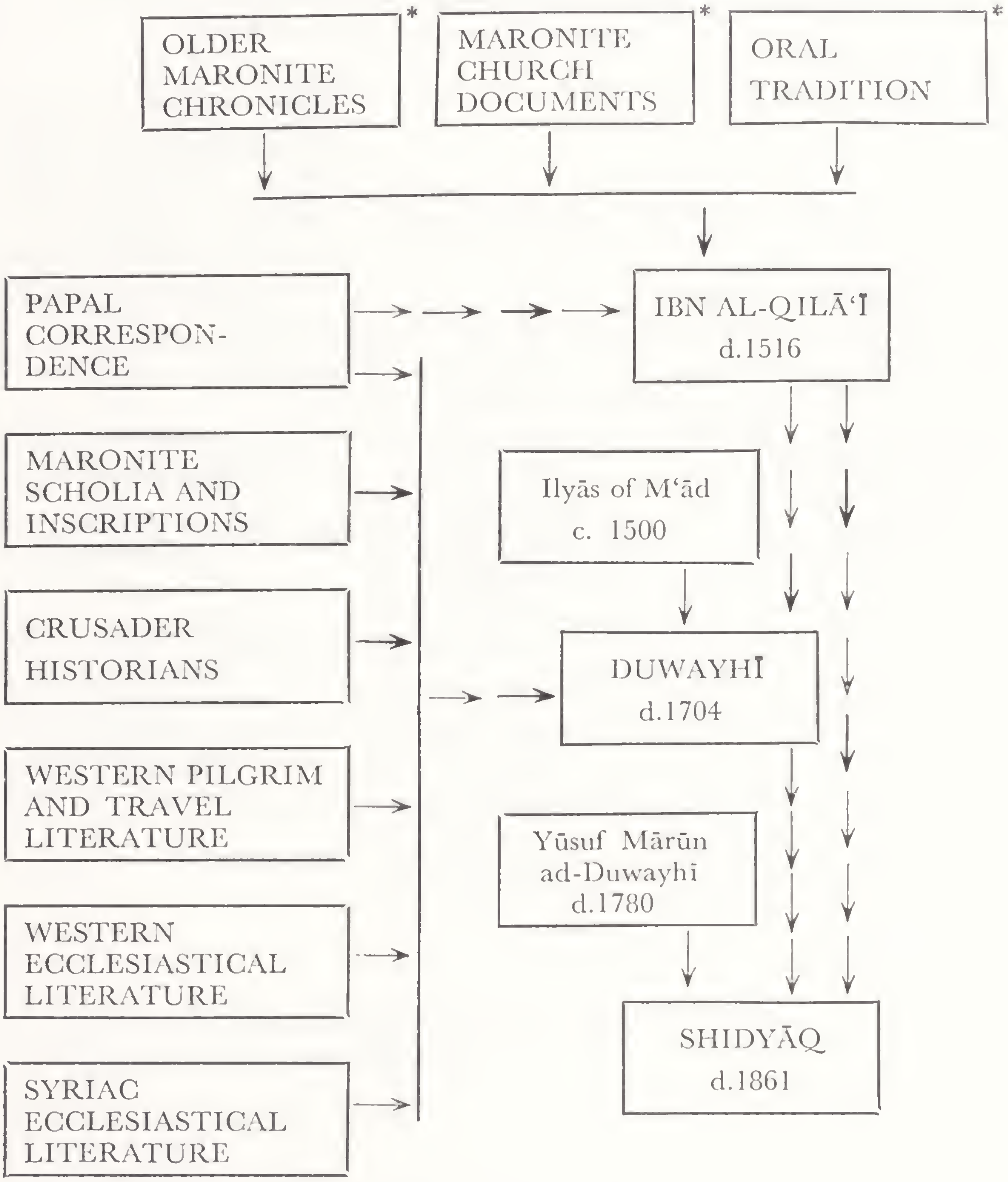
w. For the *zajaliyya* about the orbits, the constellations, and the astronomical measurements, see above, p. 25, fn. 5.

x. I found a *Madīḥa ʿalā 'l-mawt* (poem about death) in MS Bkerke 13.

APPENDIX B

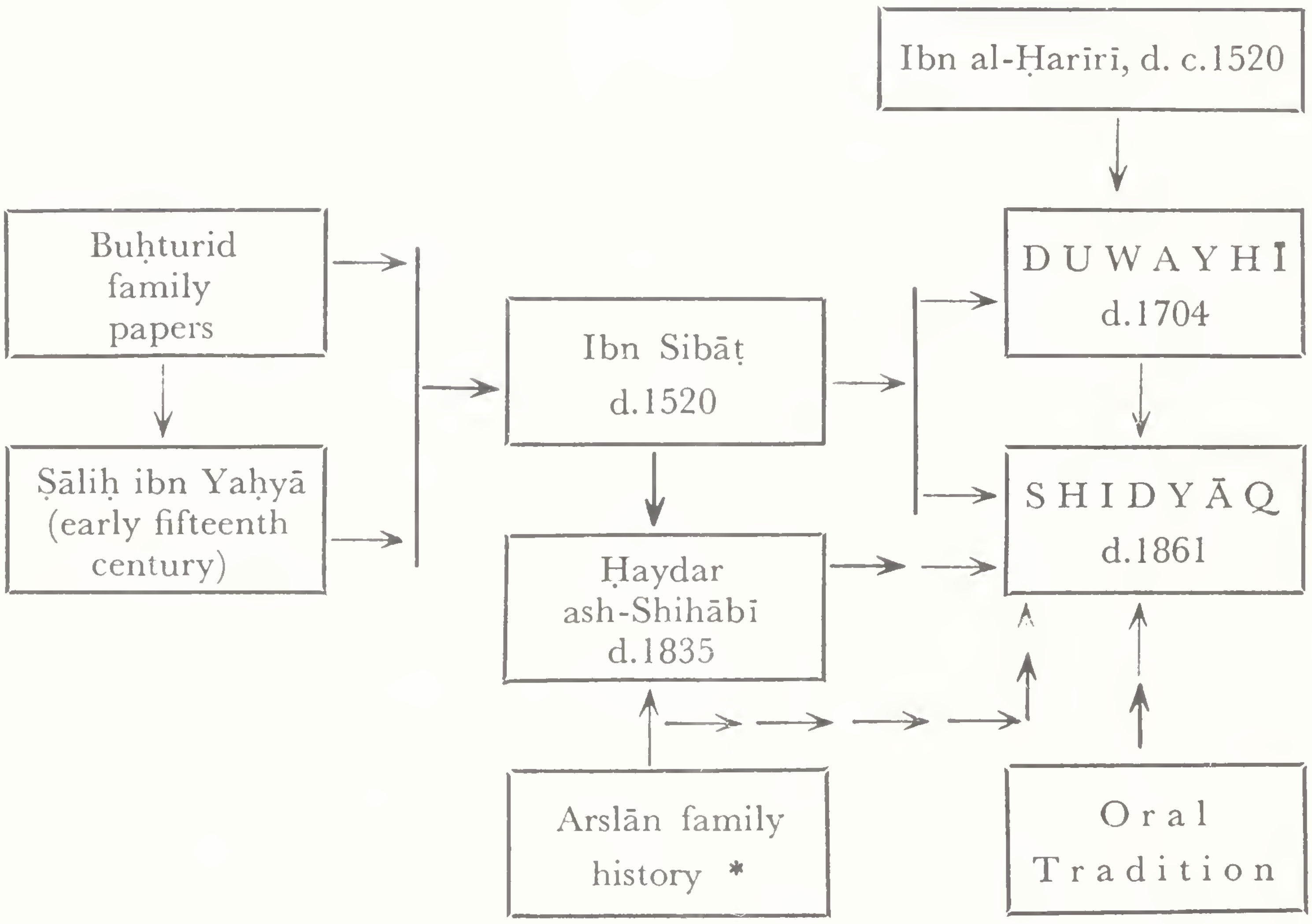
SOURCES OF IBN AL-QILĀ'Ī, DUWAYHĪ, AND SHIDYĀQ FOR THE HISTORY OF LEBANON IN THE LATER MIDDLE AGES

CHART 1. — Sources for the history of the Maronites.



* The material from these sources, the existence of which is presumed, is not available today in its original form outside Ibn al-Qilā'ī.

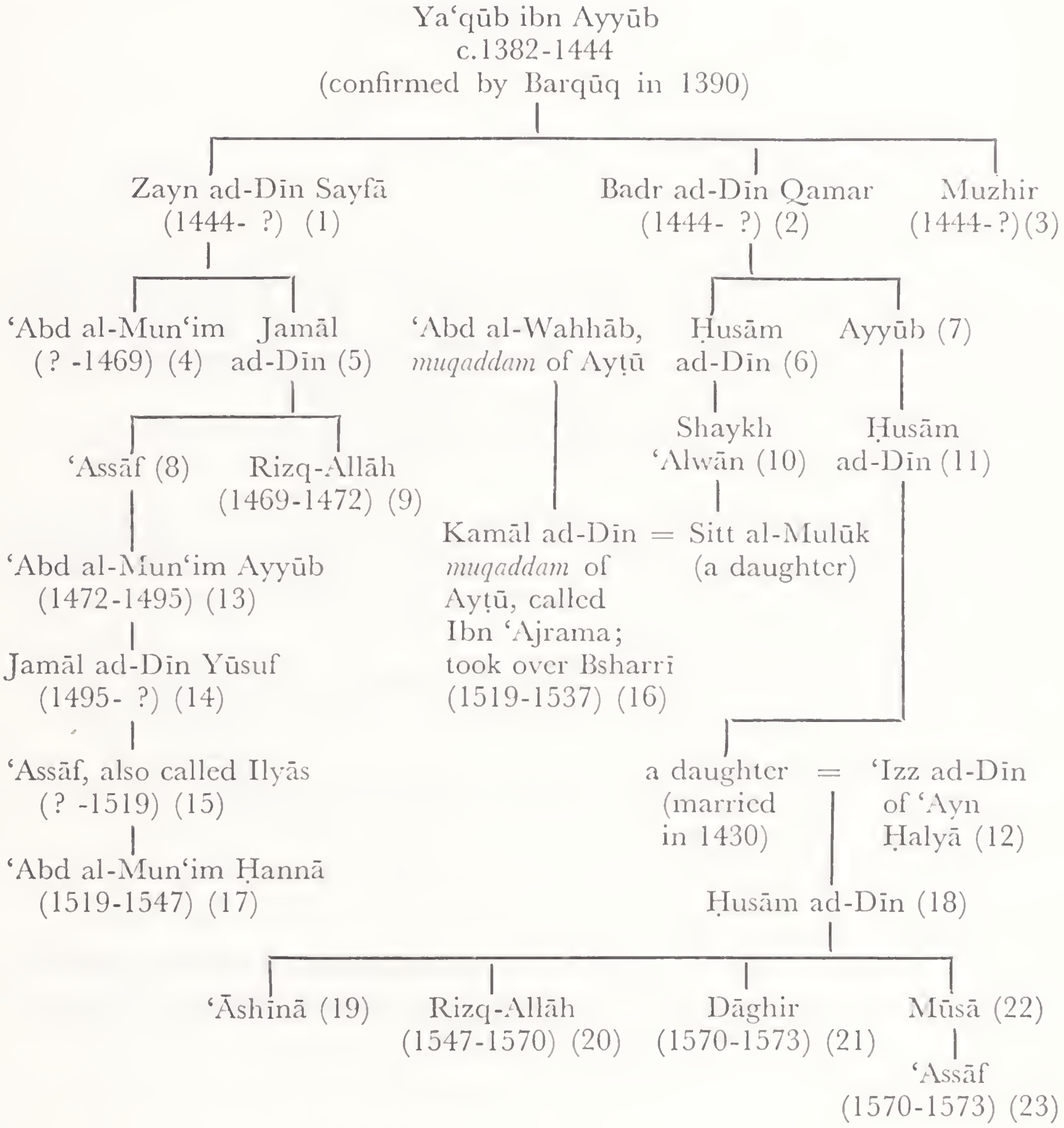
CHART 2. — Sources for the history of non-Maronite Lebanon



* This history, the existence of which is presumed, is only known through use by Shihābī and Shidyāq.

APPENDIX C

1. GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE *MUQADDAMĪN* OF BSHARRĪ c. 1382-1573 (after Duwayhī)



2. NOTES ON THE GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE *MUQADDAMĪN* OF BSHARRĪ

(1) Duwayhī, *TA*, p. 207.

(2) *Ibid.*

(3) Duwayhī did not specify whether Sayfā, Qamar, and Muzhir had succeeded each other in the *muqaddamiyya*, or whether they held it jointly; neither did he mention their dates of death.

(4) *Ibid.*, p. 213. Duwayhī only gave the date of his death, witout mentioning the date of his accession to the *muqaddamiyya* of Bsharrī.

(5) *Ibid.*, p. 213, 215. Duwayhī did not say whether or not this Jamāl ad-Dīn ever became *muqaddam* of Bsharrī.

(6) *Ibid.*, p. 240.

(7) *Ibid.*, p. 258.

(8) *Ibid.*, p. 215.

(9) *Ibid.*, p. 213, 215.

(10) *Ibid.*, p. 240, 258.

(11) *Ibid.*, p. 258.

(12) *Ibid.*

(13) *Ibid.*, p. 215, 217, 218, 221. In the last page reference, Duwayhī mistakenly called him 'Abd al-Mun'im Ayyūb ibn Jamāl ad-Dīn ibn Sayfā, omitting his father 'Assāf. In *ibid.*, p. 215, 217, he clearly stated that 'Abd al-Mun'im was the nephew, not the brother, of Rizq-Allāh.

(14) *Ibid.*, p. 221. Duwayhī did not mention the date of his death.

(15) *Ibid.*, p. 240.

(16) *Ibid.*, p. 240, 251. Kamāl ad-Dīn of Ayṭū took over the *muqaddamiyya* of Bsharrī when *Muqaddam* 'Assāf was succeeded by his son 'Abd al-Mun'im Ḥannā, a minor. In 1537 'Abd al-Mun'im Ḥannā killed Kamāl ad-Dīn and became effective chieftain of Bsharrī.

(17) *Ibid.*, p. 240, 251, 258. See the preceding note. 'Abd al-Mun'im Ḥannā was the last descendant of Ya'qūb ibn Ayyūb in the male line.

(18) *Ibid.*, p. 258, 268.

(19) *Ibid.*, p. 258, 268-269. He did not become *muqaddam.*

(20) *Ibid.*, p. 268-269.

(21) *Ibid.*, p. 258, 272.

(22) *Ibid.*, p. 258, 272.

(23) *Ibid.*, p. 258, 272. Dāghir (see note 21) and 'Assāf were killed in 1573 at the orders of Emir Manṣūr 'Assāf, governing emir of northern Lebanon.

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